West Coast Negro Family Burned To Death After Vigilante Threats

Mother, 2 Children Dead In Blaze Of Suspicious Origin

By Jean Simon

(Special To The Militant)

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 21—Two weeks after a vigilante threat of violence to O'Day H. Short if he didn't vacate his property at Fontana, 50 miles from here, a fire of unexplained origin completely destroyed his home and burned his wife and two children to death. Short himself is so seriously injured that it is not yet certain he will live.

The case has already focused state-wide attention on the segregation of Negroes and official cooperation with vigilante racial terror that exists in Fontana.

Short, a Los Angeles man prevented by race restrictions from finding a home in Los Angeles, bought property in Fontana and proceeded to build a home for himself and his wife and two children.

REPORTED THREATS

After he had moved his family into the partially completed house, he was visited by local real estate dealer J. Sutherland and the former owner of the land, Louis Helfman, who delivered the threat from the vigilante committee on December 3. Short reported these facts to **The Sentinel**, Los Angeles Negro weekly, the next day.

According to the sheriff's own report, Deputy Cornelison and Deputy Glines had told Short "that he was out of his bounds and advised him that he contact the colored Chamber of Commerce and get together with the white Chamber of Commerce and see if a lot of disagreeableness could not be prevented."

Short told **The Sentinel** that the first indication he had of opposition to his presence was a visit from the deputy sheriff, who informed him that objections to his presence had been expressed and that an agreement between the Fontana Chamber of Commerce and prominent Negroes in the community provided that Negroes should live only in the Baseline district.

REPORTER'S FINDINGS

Fontana police claimed that acording to Short the explosion occurred when he was filling a coal oil lamp.

I visited the scene of the fire three days after the event, examined the ruins and the lamp supposed to have caused the explosion. I interviewed the colored Chamber of Commerce committee and a number of Negro workers in the area.

Universal feeling both in Fontana and Los Angeles is that the fire was the result of vigilante action and "law enforcement" agencies are making every effort to whitewash the whole affair. Everyone I spoke to wanted to know who the vigilantes were who had openly threatened Short through Sutherland, and why the police had failed to take action against them instead of warning Short.

I examined the lamp in the office of the **Tri-County Bulletin**, local Negro weekly in the Fontana area. No one can explain how that lamp could have caused such a serious explosion yet remained almost intact except for the burned glass.

VIOLENCE THREAT

The committee of the colored Chamber of Commerce led by John Lee, local president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, stated indignantly that they had absolutely no agreement, written or oral, with the white Chamber of Commerce to segregate Negroes. Local Negroes have been fighting such segregation.

In his report to **The Sentinel** on December 4, Short quoted Sutherland as stating to him, "Mr. Short, I don't mean to frighten you or insult you, but the vigilante committee had a meeting on your case last night, and they are a tough bunch to deal with. If I were you, I'd get my family off of this property at once."

Short then asked if physical violence would result if he didn't and was told, "Yes."

OPPOSE WHITEWASH

Aroused by the violence in Fontana, numerous individuals and organizations proceeded to investigate the situation this week.

Attorney Thomas L. Griffith, president of the Los Angeles Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, called a meeting of all interested parties Thursday night, December 20, to collect information and plan further action.

Myra Tanner Weiss, Los Angeles organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, proposed at that meeting the establishment of a broad committee of inquiry to combat any attempt to whitewash the vigilante terror in the Short case, and to mobilize mass

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Workers Of The World, Unite!

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FORD UNION GROUP FLAYS SCHEME TO FINE STRIKERS

All Cleveland Labor Rallies To GM Strike

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

CLEVELAND, Dec. 17 — More than 1,000 CIO members and friends braved zero weather on Sunday night, December 16, to attend a rally here in support of the General Motors strikers. Held at the Public Music Hall by the Cleveland Industrial Union Council, the meeting was the opening gun in a campaign to mobilize the entire resources of the Cleveland CIO movement of 125,000 members for the embattled GM and Murray-Ohio strikers, and impending strikes in steel, etc. A relief fund of $100,000 was set as the goal of the drive.

Speakers at the meeting included CIO United Auto Workers President R. J. Thomas and CIO Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers President Albert Fitzgerald. All leaders made militant speeches, attempting to match the fighting mood of the rank and file.

WONDERFUL SOLIDARITY

Referring to Truman's proposal that GM strikers go back to work pending the deliberations of a "fact-finding" committee, R. J. Thomas said, "Frankly, I hope to drop dead if I should tell GM workers to go back to work in a situation like this."

UE President Fitzgerald stated the "UE workers will soon be on the picket lines with the GM workers." This promise was greeted with prolonged applause.

William Donovan, Regional Director of the CIO United Steel workers, brought the house down when he said, "What labor needs is a fact finding committee to investigate President Truman."

The meeting responded to a

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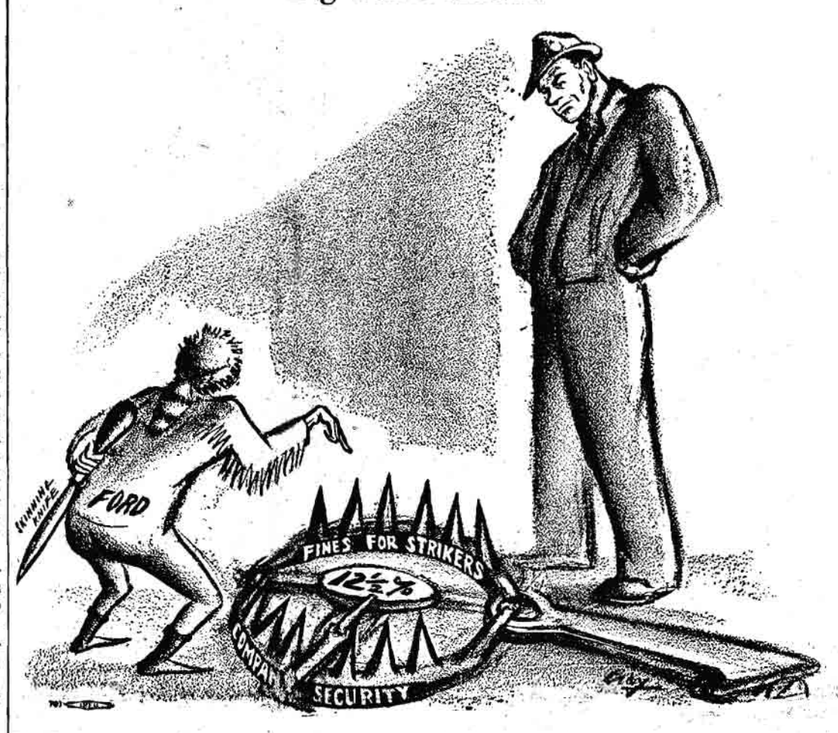
Big Game Hunter



CIO Rubber Workers Convention Witnesses Fight For Leadership

By Milton Genecin

(Special To The Militant)

GRAND RAPIDS, Mich., Dec. 18 — The CIO United Rubber Workers witnessed a pitched battle for leadership at its tenth annual convention held here this week. On one side stood the progressive, militant section of the union, spearheaded by the Akron locals, and on the other a Stalinist machine headed by National Organizational Director Harry Eagle and his staff of paid organizers plus some of the small local unions.

Issues and program took a secondary place to the main question of leadership of the International union. All sections of the union support the 7-point wage and hour program which calls for a 30-cent an hour increase and a basic six-hour day and 30-hour week. In contrast to previous conventions, this year's produced no differences of opinion on policy or program.

The balance of power among the delegates was held by President Buckmaster whose middle-of-the-road position was supported by large sections of the U. S. Rubber chain and some scattered locals. Neither the Akron militants nor the Stalinist machine could take control of the union by themselves. An attempted bloc between the Akron locals and other anti-Stalinist delegates failed because of the great pressure and threats brought to bear by the Stalinist organizing staff, upon whom most of the locals outside of Akron depend.

The Stalinists, who came to the convention with an ambitious

(Continued on Page 7)

IN THE NEWS

Not Fussy Servants

"LONDON, Dec. 19 — King George VI waltzed with his butler's wife last night, and Queen Elizabeth did a turn with her footman. Princess Elizabeth danced with a chef from the palace kitchen. It was the annual below the stairs Christmas party at Buckingham Palace."

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Capitalist 'Santa Claus'

Chrysler Corporation announced December 21 a Christmas bonus of $45 to $90 to each of its 41,316 wage workers. However, it was explained, this would be in place of paid vacations next year.

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What They Fought For

Disclosing the increasing difficulty veterans are having finding jobs, the latest Commerce Department's "Survey of Current Business" states: "Despite the fact that peak separations had not occurred and that many veterans already released were not seeking work, difficulties in reabsorption (placing in civilian jobs) had begun to emerge during September and October."

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Wants Only the 'Best'

Press dispatches last week reported that Dictator Chiang Kai-shek has requested Allied approval for keeping some "high-grade" Japanese troops in China to help "maintain order."

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"Danger" Of Equality

"It is obvious that a world state based on the complete equality of man would be controlled by the nations of largest population. In such a state, our country would have less than half the influence of either India or China. We would have less influence than Russia." (Col. Charles Lindbergh, calling for a world organization dominated by the Western Powers.)

Press Steel Unit Meeting Denounces Vicious Proposals

By Roy Weston

(Special To The Militant)

DETROIT, Dec. 17. —The regular monthly mass meeting of the large Press Steel Unit of Ford Local 600, CIO United Automobile Workers, on December 15, unanimously adopted a resolution denouncing the treacherous company security plan offered the Ford Motor Company by the top officials of the union's Ford Department. Some 1,200 workers attended the meeting in Western High School.

This resolution, introduced by David Averill, Three-Year Trustee of the Press Steel Unit, blasted the National Ford Negotiating Committee, which for more than a month has been involved in futile negotiations with the agents of the Ford Empire.

The company security plan presented by the union's bargaining committee was the "counter-proposal" to the company's arrogant demand that the union should allow the company to discharge any "instigator" of a "wild-cat" strike and that any worker participating in an "unauthorized" work-stoppage or slowdown should be fined $5 per day for the duration of the strike or slowdown, with the fines to be paid from the union's treasury.

WHO BUGAS IS

This union-busting proposal was presented for the company by John S. Bugas, a former FBI agent whose knowledge of police and spy methods qualified him to replace Harry H. Bennett as head of the notorious Ford Personnel Department. The plan offered by the UAW leaders differed from Bugas' proposal only

(Continued on Page 3)

Flint Pickets Halt Attempt To Break AC Line

By Jerry Kirk

(Special To The Militant)

FLINT, Mich., Dec. 20 — The powerful UAW General Motors locals of Flint this week demonstrated their fighting powers in a mighty picket line at AC Spark Plug in answer to police violence. Their action prevented office and supervisory employes from entering the plants the day after Flint police had forcibly opened the picket lines. The General Motors Corporation, stymied by this move, shifted its attack from the picket lines to the court.

On Tuesday, December 18, some 2,000 UAW pickets and flying squad members from Buick, Fisher Body, AC and Chevrolet locals formed a picket line at AC plant a quarter of a mile long. This was the strikers' answer to police clubbing of several workers the day before, when the cops forcibly opened the picket lines for the frightened office workers who, either duped or afraid that they would lose their jobs, had

(Continued on Page 2)

Next Stage In The GM Strike

By The Editors

The top officers of the CIO auto union are following out to the bitter end their strike "strategy" of "isolating" GM and "playing ball" with Ford, the "independent" of the auto industry. This "strategy" has proven itself over and over again to be unrealistic, out of line with the facts, dangerous to the strike. It has already resulted in one backward step after another on the part of the union. It has already weakened labor's national fight for a decent wage standard. It has already put strong weapons into the hands of the labor-hating industrialists.

But the bewildered top auto union officials have stubbornly continued on their original course. They permit themselves to get sucked deeper and deeper into the dangerous waters, in the vain hope that they can thus out-maneuver the General Motors Corporation, and through Ford, break the "log-jam" on wages.

But with every further step of this screwball "strategy," the UAW leaders further disorient the GM strike, demoralize the workers and endanger the very foundations of this crucial labor struggle. That is why it is proper that all of us take special time out right now to analyze what has been going on and to take the necessary steps to retrieve this situation, and plant labor's feet on the right road, the road that can and will lead to victory.

How "Strategy" Has Worked Out

Thomas, Reuther and the other UAW leaders worked out a strike "strategy" which stated in effect that GM, Ford and Chrysler are competitors, that the union would close down GM but permit its "rivals" to keep working. Then, by special concessions to Ford, who for some unknown reason was presumed to be an "independent," the union would succeed in winning wage increases from him and thus set a "pattern" for the industry. This represents in a nutshell the Thomas-Reuther master-plan in the present fight.

Has it worked out in practice? To ask the question

(Continued on Page 2)

Wall Street Plunges Deeper Into Far East Colonial War

By Charles Carsten

The colonial peoples of the Far East continue their valiant fight for freedom from imperialist oppression. Arrayed against them are imperialist troops armed with the most modern equipment, supported by airplanes, tanks and long-range battleship guns. The people's armies, fighting with only rifles and spears are supported by colonial masses who prefer death to enslavement.

The British command in Singapore recently announced its decision to "use a strong hand in Java." As if their burning of villages and bombing civilians were not "strong" enough!

British artillery from both warships and land batteries are pounding the Javanese. "Royal Air Force Mosquito and Thunderbolt aircraft carrying rockets and 500 pounds bombs" blasted nationalist positions according to a December 21 Reuter dispatch.

IMPERIALISTS FEARFUL ...

Britain is determined to avoid giving the impression of yielding to native forces. British imperialists are afraid this might inspire nationalist revolutions in their farflung empire. They fear that any signs of compromise in Indonesia might be the signal for an all out struggle by the starving, disease-ridden, masses of India.

Fear of colonial peoples and of the mounting indignation of people throughout the world against the brazen violation of the "principles" for which Roosevelt and Churchill said the war was fought, has caused the imperialists to screw the lid down even more tightly on news from the Far East. The little leaking through the tight censorship and coming from people who have returned from the embattled countries, indicate that the people, fighting against tremendous odds, are determined to free themselves from the yoke of imperialism.

Washington bears as much responsibility as Britain for the policy being followed in Indonesia. The State Department admitted an already well known fact when it declared December 19 that troops were "assigned to the Southeast Asia Command, on behalf of the Allies."

BRAZEN HYPOCRISY

After hypocritically speaking about the necessity of disarming the Japanese troops in Indonesia, Washington asserted that it hopes for a "peaceful settlement." The United States "recognizes" the "natural aspirations of the Indonesian peoples" but at the same time aids the Dutch and British in supressing them.

More important than the aspirations of these colonial people in Wall Street's mind are the "legitimate rights and interests of the Netherlands." Therefore, although the State Department gives lip service to "peaceful settlement" the United States Government continues to supply British and Dutch armies with American-made equipment. The Thunderbolts that fire rockets and drop bombs on defenseless Javanese are from the American arsenal. Dutch Marines, reported off the Malayan coast on their way to Indonesia, were trained and armed in the United States.

The essence of the State Department's declaration on Indonesia is that Wall Street recognizes Dutch imperialist rule over the Indonesians, which the Dutch

(Continued on Page 2)

Steel Workers Aid GM Pickets In Harrison

By Richard Kirk

(Special to The Militant)

HARRISON, N. J., Dec. 20— Steel workers from Crucible Steel Local 2194, CIO, United Steel Workers, joined the CIO auto union's picket line in front of General Motors' Hyatt Roller Bearing plant here today at 4 p.m. in a demonstration of solidarity.

"We're out here on the line for two purposes," stated John Everett, Jr., President of Local 2194, "to demonstrate the solidarity of the steel workers with their auto brothers, and as practice for our own strike. We haven't been on a picket line in a long time, so a little rehearsal will get us in shape for January 14th."

The striking auto workers gave a hearty welcome to their brothers from the nearby Crucible plant. The extra pickets enabled the Hyatt Local to send several bus loads of pickets over to the demonstration in New York

Conspicuous during the picketing were office workers when they left the plant. It is the policy of the Hyatt Local to permit office workers through the lines as long as they do no work of hourly-paid workers.

Strike captains and local UAW officials stressed the importance of the solidarity demonstrated by the steel workers in keeping up the morale of the local GM strikers.

3,000 NEW YORK WORKERS PICKET AT GM BUILDING

By Bill Morgan

NEW YORK, Dec. 20 — Singing "Solidarity Forever!" more than 3,000 CIO United Auto Workers, members and sympathetic workers marched four abreast around the huge General Motors Building at 1775 Broadway this evening in an inspiring picket line organized by the Greater New York CIO Council.

As darkness gathered, a battery of giant Klieg lamps played bright streams of light over the marching thousands, and from three sound trucks, union songs resounded militantly in the sharp cold city streets.

AFL members joined with CIO members on the line. Delegations from 24 international unions came carrying their union banners. Veterans of the army, navy and merchant marine mingled with Flying Squadrons from Ford's at Edgewater, N. J., and other near-by auto plants. A large contingent from the CIO Fur and Leather Workers Union paraded into the line en masse.

AID TO GM STRIKE

Two large trucks carried signs calling for food for the GM strikers. The trucks were soon filled to the brim, not only with food but with Christmas packages donated by many. The fur workers contributed one truck load alone.

For an hour and a half the gigantic line circled the GM building and then marched into Columbus Circle, a block and a half away, where speeches were made by various CIO officials

During the picketing and the demonstration hundreds of police and plain-clothes men guarded the building and escorted the white-collar workers out at quitting time. Some of these white-collar workers broke away from the cops and joined the line to march with the pickets and sing "Solidarity Forever!"

Next Stage In GM Strike

Continued from Page 1

is to answer it.

It is now clear that from the very first Ford had a common understanding with the General Motors Corpooration on the strategy to be employed against the unions. It is now clear that the "big boys" are today solidly united behind their coldly calculated plan to put the unions in irons as preparation for more drastic attacks later on.

Ford and GM are not fighting each other or pursuing contradictory or even independent courses. No, they are just putting on a clever act, the hard-cop soft-cop act. The policies of GM and Ford are the same. The two corporations, by prior agreement, are simply employing different techniques. GM launched its all-out head-on "tough-guy" attack on the union. Ford, in turn, moved in with a flank attack. Ford wasn't like GM—oh, no! Ford was polite. Bugas, the ex-G-man, who is Ford's personnel director, never said any nasty or mean things to Leonard, the union's Ford director. Under the guise of "friendship," "reasonableness," "politeness," "fairness," Ford kept stringing the union leadership along, all the time squeezing, squeezing, squeezing.

Ford and the industrialists of America soon found out that they had some pretty good milch cows in Leonard and the other top UAW officials. Leonard gave a bigger yield than the industrialists themselves had probably expected. Leonard, in the name of the union, proposed to convert the great UAW, which had been built at Ford's after so much sacrifice, fighting and bloodshed, into a pitiful, housebroken "shop union." Then, after making this vicious sell-out proposal, Leonard and Thomas and Reuther stood, with their tongues hanging out, waiting expectantly for the blessed "wage offer" that they counted on to solve their difficulties in the GM strike. They waited and waited. And finally Ford, the great "independent," spoke. What a "wage offer" he made! **It was even worse than the "wage offer" of GM!**

Ford's insulting offer of a 12.4 per cent wage increase was tied up with half a dozen jokers, such as the speed-up, union guarantee of production levels, weakening of seniority and other union rights, plus a complicated calculation scheme which would leave whole sections of the Ford workers without any wage increases whatsoever. And it was for this "wage offer" that the UAW leadership proposed to sell the union down the river.

This Danger Must Be Fought

Thus we see the picture emerging of Thomas, Reuther and the other super-clever "military strategists" setting out on the field of battle to surround and isolate GM and winding up by walking smack into the trap set for them by the enemy.

The union's offer to Ford to put chains on the working men and women in the shops, had immediate repercussions throughout the country. It immediately weakened labor's fight and was instrumental in putting it on the defensive. Immediately, one after another, the other corporations, GM and then General Electric (and others will soon follow) proceeded to cancel their contracts with the union and to demand the same "security" that Leoard had offered to Ford.

At the moment, the union leadership's treachery at Ford's represents the greatest danger to the GM strike and with it to labor's whole struggle. AT THE MOMENT THERE IS A REAL DANGER THAT THE CORPORATIONS WITH THE CONNIVANCE OF ALL THE TOP CIO OFFICIALS WILL SUCCEED, IN EXCHANGE FOR SOME KIND OF A WAGE INCREASE, IN FASTENING CHAINS UPON THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND IN THOROUGHLY BUREAUCRATIZING AND THUS HOUSE-BREAKING THE GREAT CIO UNIONS.

This danger must be fought right at its source. If a great outcry arises from the depths of the union movement —not only in the auto unions but in every union of America; if a mass demand is voiced that this treacherous proposition be withdrawn and condemned, then and only then will this danger be removed. That is the task facing the militants in the CIO.

* * *

Along with the treachery at Ford's that came out of labor's own house, we hear today a lot of defeatist talk about the GM strike as well as oblique attacks against it. John L. Lewis launched such an attack against the GM strike when he decided, at a time when labor was under heaviest attack from Congress, to condemn the UAW leaders as "stupid" for calling the strike at this time. Of course all Lewis proved by this "blow below the belt" is that he is not a great labor leader, as some militants mistakenly believed but a narrow-minded ambition-crazed old bureaucrat. Last week we again heard a large number of stories, this time, emanating right from CIO President Murray's own office, that "Reuther jumped the gun" and "upset" the CIO strategy. In other words, the GM strike should not have been called.

Was It "Stupid" To Call GM Strike

What is this all about? Why was it "stupid" to call the GM strike and precisely what "strategy" did it upset?

Here is how the argument of the bureaucrats runs: "The great corporations are not interested in producing in 1945. The tax laws are so rigged that the billionaire corporations can make more money by waiting until 1946 before they really start production. That is why it was poor strategy to call a strike in 1945." That is the argument of Murray, John L. Lewis, and others. For all its superficial persuasiveness, the argument isn't worth anything. It is defeatist. It is wrong.

Of course, it is true that the big corporations are not producing very much in 1945. Of course it is true that the tax laws are rigged in their favor. But if we are going to gear strikes to the tax laws, then the situation isn't very good even in 1946, or for that matter, even in 1947. Because the robber tax laws passed by Congress, guarantee the corporations high profits (their 1936-1939 average) for the next two years, regardless of production. To be thoroughly consistent, one would have to postpone all strikes until 1948! But by then the labor movement would, in all probability, be too weak to strike.

The truth of the matter is this: the great corporations, as a result of labor's retreats during the war, are today literally choking with money. They are power-drunk and united in their anti-labor campaign as never before. They are fighting a united battle against labor on a national front. They are fully prepared to sacrifice in a monetary way, even if that is necessary, for their larger aims of house-breaking the unions. They are fully prepared to go even further and disorganize the economy of the whole country and bring on a national crisis, up to a certain point, in order to attain their union-breaking objective. Such is the broad picture from which they view this battle with labor. So far are they prepared to go to achieve their anti-labor aims.

That is why it is so ridiculous and reveals such narrow-mindedness and ignorance to try to establish a timetable for strikes on the basis of the calendar governing the tax returns. The industrialists, we said, are prepared to disorganize the economy up to a certain point. That is why labor can win this fight, not by dragging it out indefinitely, but only by a sufficient show of strength, a show of strength that will bring to a head the economic crisis.

This will force the capitalists, or more correctly their top over-all executive agency, the capitalist government in Washington, D. C., to move in and settle the strikes quickly, either by trying to break the strikes or by making concessions. And, as of today, it is not in the cards for the capitalists to simply smash strikes by violence and terror. Labor is too strong. Such a course would be too reckless, even for the power-drunk gamblers of Wall Street.

That is why the militancy of the American workers, their solidarity, their spirit, their morale, their readiness to fight is a 100 per cent more important consideration in weighing the calling of a strike than all the tax laws of the country combined. That is why the union was right in calling the GM strike when it did. That is why all this talk about the GM strike being "timed wrong" or the GM strikers "jumping the gun" is false and reactionary. The GM strikers deserve not blame but the highest praise. They are entitled to the fullest support of all labor. The working men and women in the shops have demonstrated that they understand this full well. The top officials of the unions who spread in the corridors miserable slanders about the great GM strike, do so nine times out of ten, only to alibi their own criminal inaction.

Strike Front Must Be Extended

And all this brings us to the question of the projected steel strike. If the labor movement is going to bring the national wage fight to a head, as it must; if the labor movement is to defeat the corporation's game of tiring out the working man, then the strike front must be extended. And the one union that is the present key to bringing the wage fight to a head is the steel union.

The steel workers are ready to fight. They have demonstrated that already. They are ready to close down the empire of the J. P. Morgans, and to fling the challenge at America's malefactors of wealth that, tax laws or no tax laws, American capitalism cannot continue until it has signed a wage settlement with the workers. Why then, do Murray and the other leading steel union officials postpone the calling of the steel strike until January 14? That is a long way off. Even on the basis of the phony tax law argument, Murray should have called the strike on January 1st! Not the 14th.

The key to labor's national wage fight is a prompt shutting down of the steel mills. The steel militants are called upon today to exert their efforts not only on their own behalf but on behalf of all labor. They are called upon to broaden the strike front and thus to ensure the important victory that labor is in a position to win.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Bill Morgan

Oppose Strike Fines

CIO United Auto Workers Mack Local 677 in Allentown, Pa., was one of the first UAW bodies to condemn the treacherous proposal to fine "wild-cat" strikers, made by UAW officials to the Ford Motor Company.

In a brief but sharply worded resolution the members of Local 677 say any offer to permit the company to fine workers for "unauthorized" strikes or stoppages will eventually handcuff the entire labor movement. They characterize this reactionary proposal as strikebreaking and call upon the UAW International Executive Board to likewise condemn the proposal and repudiate its author, UAW Ford Director Richard Leonard.

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SIU Aids GM Strike

Many AFL bodies have voted support for the General Motors strikers. The AFL Seafarers International Union was quick to declare its support, in a resolution adopted unanimously on November 22 in New York.

The AFL seamen declare the UAW-CIO strikers are "engaged in a legitimate beef, which is the concern of all labor, regardless of union affiliation."

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Strikers Stand Pat

On December 13, the members of three Buffalo GM UAW locals in the third week of the strike voted to a man to reject President Truman's strikebreaking "request" that they return to work empty-handed while a "fact"-finding board reaches a decision. The voting took place at a special meeting.

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Picket or Perish

In Flint, Michigan, the official publication of UAW Chevrolet Local 659 is **The Searchlight**, a lively and interesting paper. An article by the Plant 3 Policy Committee in the December's issue sums up the GM strike situation as follows:

"Today in our strike struggle for 30 per cent, don't look to Washington for a just settlement. As far back as labor history is first recorded up to the present day, 'Arbitration' always sold the workers out. In the long history of the mine workers' union in fact-finding committees, a form of arbitration was used to steal the just demands from the mine unions by stalling strikes for months and months . . . "

"There is only one way we can win our just demands. THE PICKET LINE MUST BE MAINTAINED TILL OUR DEMANDS ARE MET. EVERY SUCCESSFUL STRIKE HAS BEEN WON ON THE PICKET LINE. That is where this one will and must be won. So, the answer to our problem, the answer to your problem is: PICKET or PERISH."

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More AFL Support

Recognition of the vital importance to all labor of a GM strike victory has been voiced by still another AFL union, Local 209, AFL Sheet Metal Workers International Association, railroad division, of St. Paul, Minnesota.

Without one dissenting vote this local passed a resolution giving "whole-hearted support by word and deed to the Auto Workers Union in their struggle." The resolution was sent to the national headquarters of the UAW and to the press.

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Urge CIO Convention

Milwaukee Local 283, UAW-CIO, went on record urging an emergency CIO Convention. On December 16, the Local 283 membership seconded the call of the striking Flint auto workers for an immediate national convention to take up the problem of fighting the anti-labor drive of Big Business and its governmental agents.

The resolution stated that President Truman is cooperating with the giant monopolies in an attempt to shackle the labor movement and that the CIO must answer this challenge to its independence by mobilizing its full forces at an Emergency CIO Convention with full local representation.

Copies of the resolution were sent to other UAW locals in Milwaukee, to CIO President Philip Murray and to the press.

Flint Pickets Halt Move To Break AC Line

(Continued from Page 1)

shown up for work, on company call.

This strikebreaking maneuver of the corporation had been carefully planned for over a week. It started with a move to open the Chevrolet personnel offices on Friday, December 14. Acting on orders from the top UAW-CIO strike strategy committee and in violation of the recent GM Conference decision, the local union officers permitted the salaried help to return to work. At this point the stage had been set for an attack on the AC Local which was the only local keeping the office workers out.

CALCULATED MANEUVER

For two days AC management advertised, asking all salaried help to come to work. The AC strike strategy committee responded by issuing a bulletin calling on the strikers to reinforce the picket lines.

It was apparent early Monday morning that the AC workers had been confused by the city-wide policy which permitted Chevrolet office workers to work while AC was keeping the office buildings closed. This, coupled with near-zero weather, resulted in only a couple of hundred pickets being on hand to guard the gates. At a few minutes before working time, the police wedged their way through the thin picket lines, arrogantly clubbing and shoving pickets who attempted to re-form their lines.

UAW ANSWERS

This action of the Flint "General Motors" police was a challenge to the UAW and was immediately accepted. A call for a city-wide strike meeting was issued in short order. The meeting endorsed the stand of the AC local and went on record stating "that the power-drunk, profit-bloated GM Corporation is making a test fight to break the strike at AC."

The strike committee, representing all locals, went on to say that it "endorses the position of the AC Spark Plug Local 651 in keeping the office and supervisory employes out of the plant and calls upon the International Executive Board of the UAW to mobilize the powerful United Automobile Workers in support of the AC workers."

Tuesday morning from six o'clock on, the picket line formed, in below-freezing weather, stretching along the length of the AC factory gates. Irate UAW workers turned back two attempts by management officials to crack the line by driving past the pickets. One car had a fender-guard ripped off.

Several hundred shivering office workers surveyed the huge picket lines from across Dort Highway. Pickets shouted across the street: "Why don't you get wise? Don't you remember when you worked for 35 cents an hour?" Others called out: "Why don't you get your GM cops to take you in today!" or "We'll have 20,000 pickets here tomorrow."

'HEART LIKE A ROCK'

One worker marched in line with a copy of the latest issue of **The Militant.** He carried a good-sized rock. From time to time he shouted out: "You know a scab has a heart like that," pointing to the stone.

In high spirits the men sang "Solidarity Forever" and "We Shall Not Be Moved." After the office workers dispersed, the mass picket lines were reduced with the flying squads returning to their respective locals.

Despite the confusion of the top leaders which permitted Chevrolet office help to return to work while AC pursued a different policy, despite the fact that the top leaders in the UAW regional office made no real effort to mobilize the members by use of radio and press, and despite the fact that it was common knowledge that the regional office had made a deal with the city manager on what would be considered peaceful picketing, the big turn-out to bolster the AC picket line indicates the desire of the local UAW ranks to fight provided they are offered leadership.

This past week, Chevrolet management, meeting success in getting office workers in, made a stab at bringing supervision into the Chevrolet parts and service plants No. 3. This plant supplies parts to 54 warehouses throughout the country. If permitted to go unchallenged, supervision could have performed the work of production workers and driven a wedge in the strike. The return-to-work call was thwarted by a mass picket line of Chevrolet workers.

TURN TO COURTS

The corporation, recognizing that the union lines could not be broken by force, shifted its attack to the courts by applying for a restraining injunction at AC Spark Plug.

At a narrowed down city-wide strike committee meeting consisting of two representatives of each local, the regional office sold the committee on the necessity of opening the picket lines at AC. They argued the way to "beat" the injunction threat was to permit the salaried help to enter the factory.

They raised the threat that with an injunction would go the use of state troops, and that the workers cannot fight the state troops when the Governor is a Republican and anti-labor. But they also stated in contradiction that if a move were made to open the plants to production workers, they would have to fight even though GM had an injunction and the aid of the state troops.

EXPERIENCE OF '37

The fear expressed by top officers and regional officers is not evidenced by most of the second rank leaders. They are the seasoned fighters of the sitdown strikes who remember vividly that in 1937 the strike leaders tore the injunction to bits in the face of the police officials. Many of the present leaders in the regional office either didn't go through that experience or have conveniently forgotten it.

In 1937, thousands of CIO workers poured into Flint to beat down the threat of police and state militia violence. In order to repulse the corporation it is necessary to mobilize the UAW ranks to the danger of the injunction and its possible use in a back-to-work movement.

If GM corporation makes an outright attempt to break the picket lines the full strength of the UAW will come out in the open. The ranks are ready. They are waiting for the call and when it comes, the GM corporation will quake at the mighty power that will be hurled against it in defense of the union and the strike.

No One Crashed This Line!

CIO United Auto Workers pickets are shown massed before the main gate of GM's AC Spark Plug plant in Flint, Dec. 18. The day before, 150 office workers were rushed through the token picket line by the police. When the workers turned out in force, the police developed a more respectful attitude and no effort was made to escort office workers through the line.

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ALL CLEVELAND LABOR RALLIES TO GM STRIKE

(Continued from Page 1)

collection appeal with $1,057 in spot cash and numerous pledges toward the $100,000 fund. Many CIO locals made weekly pledges, the highest coming from Amalgamated Local 217, UAW-CIO, which promised $1,000 each pay day.

Many fraternal and national groups are rallying to the support of the strikers. Particularly noteworthy was the position taken by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Speaking before the annual election meeting of the Cleveland branch this month, National Field Secretary Daisy Lampkin said, "If labor doesn't win this battle against capital this time they may never have a chance again. We should be with them. We are the poor people just like them." The Cleveland NAACP has already contributed $100 to the GM strike fund.

The kind of local support behind the GM strike is illustrated also by the Collingwood Shop Council which called a meeting last week to mobilize united action to back the pickets. This council is composed of CIO, AFL, Railroad Brotherhood and MESA locals in the northeastern section of Cleveland which halted the police terror in the recent Parker Appliance strike. The Council is prepared to support Fisher Body Local 45, UAW, with similar mass picket action should GM attempt any back-to-work movement.

GM BATTLEFRONT

On the GM battlefront itself, the corporation continued its efforts to weaken the strike by extending an injunction, secured last week against Fisher Body Local 45, to Local 207 at the West Side Diesel plant. On December 18 the Diesel plant officials ordered all salaried personnel to return to work the following day. Local 207 responded with a mass picket line which turned back all office and supervisory employes who showed up.

Following this defeat the GM management ran to the Common Pleas Court and Judge Day granted, on December 21, an injunction limiting the number of Diesel pickets to 60. The injunction provided , however, that should the management attempt to resume production, the union could petition for a "modification" of the restriction.

Locals 207 and 45 feel constrained to abide by the injunction provisions for the time being, but are vigilantly alert and watching for the first move on the part of the corporation to attempt any production with salaried personnel.

Local 45 has hundreds of seasoned union militants, veterans of the great strike struggles of '35, '37 and '39. These steelec unionists face the New Year with grim determination to fight the present battle out to a finish.

Flint, Mich.

All Militant Readers Invited To

Socialist Workers Party Meetings

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YWCA

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Eyewitness Tells Of Life In Maylaya

Special To The Militant

SINGAPORE, Malaya, Nov. 21—Everyone is surprised at the build of the Japanese soldier. On the average he is many times better built than the British soldier. Official propaganda had led us to believe that he was undernourished, a small fellow, etc.

Before arriving here a few of the "old hands" boasted of their intentions to maltreat the Japanese. It was an idle boast. As was to be expected, the backward elements were for being rough. A few cases have been reported to me of soldiers making prisoners "double" when going on an errand. But by good example the others put a stop to it. I have even seen cases of our fellows being embarrassed at having to order the Japanese to do a job.

The working people are extremely poor and suffer untold hardships. The British made Malayan economy dependent on rubber and tin; they neglected agriculture. Today the two industries have not yet started up and I see in the press that Big Business—of various nationalities—demands higher prices before beginning production.

CAPITALIST JUSTICE

The Singapore dockers who recently demonstrated in support of the independence movement of the Indonesians met with extreme measures from the ruling class. The rubber and tin owners on the other hand enjoy press support and will certainly win their demands. So much for capitalist "justice."

The Japanese annulled British currency, and issued what became known as the "banana" dollar. The British then annulled this currency. The poor suffered, as any savings were undermined. The rich of course just dug up the British currency, and continuing with "business as usual," switched back to partnership with the British. During the occupation Big Business collaborated with the Japanese. The leading British daily, the **Straits Times**, I notice, thinks it unfair for the collaborators to be "chided" by the masses. Just chided!

A Chinese friend told me that in Kluang the police force was handed over to the Japanese to keep "law and order." This police force together with Japanese troops raided his home and assaulted his family and the neighbors for aiding a British officer and some soldiers to escape.

BRITISH "BANANA"

The parents of my Chinese friend were killed and he was forced to hide in the jungle. Now that the British are back, he has been rewarded 50 Malayan dollars. The Malayan dollar is acquiring the name of the British "banana" dollar.

The exchange today seems to be based on British cigarettes. Soldiers barter them at the rate of 70 cents for 10 cigarettes. In Singapore they are again sold by the Chinese for a still higher price.

Scarcity brings along the black market. Prices are fantastic. A hair comb costs $1.40, as does a small can of shoe polish. One egg costs 37 cents, carbonated water 23 cents, a bar of soap $1.17 and so on. The shops are empty. Anything salable is beyond the means of working people and soldiers.

MASSES STARVE

With no work, the masses are starving. Before the war, Malaya imported 60 per cent of its rice, almost all its milk and meat and most other foods.

Here in Singapore some 300,000 people face starvation. Those lucky enough to get on the relief rolls receive only $15 a family. Because of the high prices this is virtually nothing.

Naturally looting is prevalent. I heard that 25 bags of flour sent from Singapore reached Kluang 60 miles away, 18 bags short. Armed bands are reported roaming the countryside raiding trains.

All who violate the British laws are dubbed "Communists" by the "high and mighty." Looting, whether for food or arms, is ascribed to the "Communists."

The Propaganda Corp of the Stalinists, however, have plastered up slogans as "Welcome to our Allies," etc.

I visited the headquarters of the AJA (Anti-Japanese Army). On the walls pictures were displayed of Stalin, Lenin, Marx and a Malayan.

MISERABLE "PAY-OFF"

The AJA is being disbanded. After years of struggle, living in the jungle under horrible conditions, their families killed or imprisoned by the Japanese, this army that harassed the Japanese troops with few weapons is being paid off by the British at the rate of $150. This would not keep a Chinese family for two weeks.

What the people are thinking can be judged by the remarks of a Chinese boy. In broken English he told me that the British are no good. His logic is just what we expected it to be. It took four armies to beat the Japanese, he said, but the Japanese all alone chased the British.

This Chinese boy didn't favor the Japanese. He wanted China to conquer her enemies.

French Trotskyists Fight For Legalization Of Paper

The first paper to appear in the French underground movement against the Nazi conquerors is still fighting for legalization under the de Gaulle regime. The paper **La Verite** (Truth) is the organ of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (Revolutionary Communist Party).

In the campaign for authorization, Albert Demazieres, General Secretary of the PCI, addressed the following letter to Andre Malraux, Minister of Information in the de Gaulle government:

* * *

I have addressed your predecessors Mr. Teitgen and Mr. Soustelle many times trying to obtain authorization for the publication of **La Verite**, organ of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (France section of the Fourth IInternational). I never received a reply.

Permit me today to appeal to you in the hope that you will put an end to a situation which places such a grave reflection on the democratic principles which you wish to inspire.

I should like to remind you that 73 underground numbers of **La Verite** appeared during the four years of the German occupation. Our paper was the first to oppose Hitler (No. 1, August 1, 1940). The militant members of my party paid a terrible price for their defense of the anti-Nazi politics carried on uninterruptedly by their paper. But it seems, to judge from the quantity and diversity of newspapers authorized, that this criterion has no great value.

In addition I should like to call your attention to the following facts:

1. The PCI is a legal party (declaration of the Police Prefecture, June 7, 1945).

2. During the election rallies and meetings which we were permitted to hold last September, tens of thousands of workers demanded the legal authorization of our paper.

3. **La Verite** is the organ of a working class tendency and as such it appears impossible to prevent it much longer from legal appearance.

Believing in your democratic sentiments, I demand consequently, Mr. Minister, that you authorize **La Verite** to appear as a weekly, printing 50,000 copies.

Only 9 Dead— No Starvation, Says Brass Hat

It takes a great deal to convince some brass hats that the masses under their rule in occupied lands are suffering intensely. When the press reported "wholesale starvation" in Japan, Colonel J. U. Weaver decided to make a personal inspection.

So he visited the Tokyo railroad terminal. There he "found no justification" for the unpleasant reports, he declared. On the evening "he visited the place" he found only "nine bodies."

Furthermore, not all the nine died of starvation. Autopsy proved, reported Colonel Weaver, that "pneumonia was the cause of four of the deaths," malnutrition was only a "contributing factor" in another. Thus out of the nine deaths not more than four were strictly "traceable to undernourishment alone."

In addition, another inspection the next day proved conditions were much better. No bodies were found by the Colonel and only 3 people had to be hauled to the hospital.

Ask Your Shopmates to Subscribe to THE MILITANT

Manifesto Of The Fifth Congress Of The Trotskyist Party In Belgium

1. Balance Sheet Of The "Liberation"

Editorial Note: The following manifesto has been translated from the November 17 La Lutte Ouvriere (Workers Struggle), organ of the Parti Communiste Revolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist Party), Belgian Section of the Fourth International. The Fifth Congress was held November 1-2-3, 1945, at Brussels (See "The Militant," December 1). The first section only of the manifesto is printed below. The second section will appear next week.

Workers:

Two years ago under the most difficult conditions of illegality, some 20 delegates elected by all sections of the Revolutionary Communist Party, assembled at our Fourth Congress. Expressing the profound aspirations of the widest ranks of the working masses, these delegates proposed three slogans essential for your struggle: Peace, Bread, Liberty.

To attain these objectives, our party pointed out a road completely different from the one indicated by the traditional parties. The Socialist and Stalinist leaders said that you could conquer these objectives through the victory of the "democracies," through collaboration with the "liberal" bourgeoisie, through "national unity." They called the immediate struggle for socialism, for the revolution, "fruitless babbling." We said that bread, peace and liberty cannot be conquered under the regime of rotting capitalism; that, to conquer them, the working class must act, a struggle must be conducted against all the forms of the capitalist regime, the struggle for socialism. Under the Socialist and Stalinist leaders, what has been gained?

Peace?

Was peace assured when the atomic bomb transformed the future war into the certain destruction of humanity? When the great powers, armed to the teeth, are dividing the world, haggling over strategic positions and naval bases? When the imperialists, with the utmost brutality, are trying to drown in blood the independence movements of the colonial peoples? When, in the center of Europe, faminine and pestilence threaten to cut down millions of human beings? When there are so many powder kegs ready to explode in the Balkans and in the Far East?

Why should we argue with you, citizens Larock and Coenen, over the "forms" of Belgium's future army? Have not your friends, Spaak and Lahaut solemnly declared that with the defeat of fascism, war has been banished from the globe? As Spaak stated over the radio on August 16: "Have not the independence of the peoples, the liberty of the world, been conquered forever?" And as Lahaut declared to Parliament: "Isn't the organization of the United Nations an effective instrument for the defense of peace?" Or don't you yourselves take your own speeches seriously? Isn't it true that you too are convinced the peace of Potsdam and of Tokyo, like the Versailles peace, will prove to be nothing but an armed truce which will end, unless revolution intervenes, in a Third World War finally destroying human civilization? And that the sixty million victims of 1939-1945, like the thirty million victims of 1914-1918 who thought they were dying for "German socialism" or for "democracy," really died so that one capitalist group instead of another might dominate the world?

Bread?

Are your daily bread and a decent standard of living assured? True, certain Belgian shops are filled with goods, but people are slowly dying of hunger in a dozen European countries. And can you, the worker, employe, civil service worker, craftsman, or small peasant, can you buy a pair of shoes costing 1,300 francs, clothing that costs 2,500 francs? Are you earning even the minimum that was hardly enough before the war? Or has a small improvement in the regime of starvation been represented to you as "prosperity?" Go talk about this prosperity, you Belgian journalists, to the street car conductors, civil service employes, textile workers, working women, the shamefully exploited youth, the pensioned and the homeless! Go talk about it to the hundreds of thousands of fathers of families who can't even buy the products that are rationed! And even before daily bread has been assured, while the wage index remains far below the price index, it is already possible to see the infamous scheme of the capitalists, who are seeking to drive down wages in order to produce more cheaply, so as to regain their export markets at the expense of the working class.

Liberty?

Has liberty been assured? While Degrelle and Leopold III, the heads of Belgian fascism, can freely plot outside the country? While neither the army, nor the top clergy, nor the top judiciary have been purged of their pro-fascist elements? While the revolutionary press is gagged and the trusts are free to set up as many anti-labor propaganda organs as they wish? While armed gangs of the dictatorship are being reconstituted under the cloak of royalist militias? While Leopoldist slogans cover the walls of Flemish villages? While the whole press, all news services, and the entire state apparatus remain in the hands of the 125 families, incubators of yesterday's fascism and of tomorrow's? While acts of violence against working class leaders are multiplying?

No, Messrs. Demany and Terfve, it is useless for you to lament the dangerous agitation of the MNR (National Royalist Movement) and the AS (Secret Army). We warned you during the occupation that the MNR and AS were white guard formations, future anti-labor shock troops. At that time and for a long time afterwards you accused us of "breaking the unity of the patriots" because we proclaimed truths, which you are forced to recognize now when it is too late. At that time and for a long time afterwards you participated in a government alongside people like De Schrijver and Du Bus de Warnaffe, initiators of neo-fascism. Even now you support the coalition with bourgeois "liberals" like Mundeleer, who forbade the July 15 demonstrations, like Van de Meulenbroeck, who mobilizes police-protection for Leopoldists, like Henricot, the epitome of the rapacious boss, like Charles Emm. Janssens, manager of the Solvay trust, who donated 20 million francs for neo-fascist propaganda. The capitalists want to throttle liberty, just as they want to take away your bread, just as they refuse you peace. And, the reformist and Stalinist leaders who collaborate with the capitalists, willingly or unwillingly, help them accomplish this task.

How Stalinists Sabotaged Workers' Offensive

The working class, however, wanted battle immediately after the "liberation." Do you remember the first activities of the United Trade Union; do you remember the great strikes of the miners and metal workers?

Why did they fail? Why was there no decisive conquest? Why has there been no fundamental change? Because the reformist and Stalinist leaders, prisoners of their coalition with the bourgeois parties, sabotaged the offensive of the workers. Because they did everything to apply the brakes to the movement. It was the "Communist" minister Marteaux who signed the decree which dissolved the partisan formations. It was the "Socialist" Prime Minister Van Acker who prohibited strikes and inaugurated civil mobilization. It was the Stalinist party which said to the workers: "No work stoppages, step up production," when wages were frozen. It was the Socialist Party which said to the workers: "Do not unleash the general strike against the Leopoldist conspiracy until the Prime Minister issues the call," precisely when the Prime Minister was professing his loyalty to the monarchy. It was the Socialist Party and the Stalinist Party who refused to take power when the Catholic ministers left the government, and on their own volition introduced new bourgeois ministers, direct representatives of the trusts, like Godding of the Comtpoir Colonial, in order to maintain the coalition at any price. It is the Socialist and Stalinist leaders who are responsible for halting the workers' offensive, for the disgust towards politics which has invaded the working class, for the strengthening of reaction. The cowardly and capitulatory policies of the Socialist and Stalinist leaders made possible the counter-offensive of the bourgeoisie.

First Stage Of Capitalist Attack

In seeking to impose the return of Leopold III on the country, the bourgeoisie desired not only to demoralize the proletariat and institute dictatorship. It prepared at the same time the lowering of wages; a hard policy of deflation which would enable it to regain its markets at the expense of the working class. Behind Leopold III stood not only the "traitors," but also all the economic collaborators with the Nazis, the banks, trusts, big capital. The bourgeois "liberals" in the anti-Leopoldist camp served only to hamstring all real action, to tie the hands of the "worker" representatives, and in this way served the Leopoldist cause just as much as their Catholic colleagues did.

But while the bourgeoisie has openly mobilized its forces, the "worker leaders" have done everything to paralyze those of the working class. They shamefully capitulated before the monarchy and refused to begin the struggle for the Republic. They refused to tie the social demands of the working class to their demands on the monarchist question. They refused to reply to the action of the bourgeoisie by direct action of the working class. They carried the struggle from the streets into Parliament, and left the initiative completely in the hands of the Leopoldists. For months they hid their files from the people. Tied to defense of the bourgeois regime, they understood that to discredit or destroy the monarchy would mean striking a blow directly at the heart of the bourgeoisie. Their fear of the laboring masses completely paralyzed their activity.

But the bourgeois offensive is only in its first stage. Already the coal bosses at Anderlues, at Beaulieu, at Tamines, have demonstrated their desire to lower wages. Already the Christian Social Party is endeavoring to prepare a great election victory which will bring it back to power, utilizing "social" demagogy with the working men and women, "democratic" demagogy with the middle classes, and speaking the "language of law and order" to win over the bourgeoisie. Already crimes of violence are mounting, to terrorize the proletariat and force its "leaders" into new capitulations.

Belgian Workers Demonstrate

"For the Punishment of the Traitors" reads the placard borne in this Nov., 1944, demonstration of workers protesting in Brussels, Belgium, against the British-sponsored Pierlot government. The Pierlot goverment has since fallen, but the Allies continue to dominate Belgian politics—to the detriment of the workers.

Working Class Must Prepare New Offensive

Wherever the bosses try to lower wages, it is necessary to immediately organize a work stoppage as the reply. Wherever the bosses refuse to carry out or delay applying the decisions of the Conference du Travail (Labor Conference), they must be forced to comply by the united action of all workers. The lowest wage scales—those of the unskilled, the women and the youth—as well as pensions must be raised so that everybody receives at least a **minimum wage** which will permit the purchase of all rationed products, of warm clothing, and coal for winter.

Wherever reaction provokes the proletariat by mobilizations of its forces — marches, demonstrations, and meetings, or by fomenting acts of violence against working class leaders — a working class reply must be organized immediately. The working masses must be mobilized in great counter-demonstrations through the transformation of the "Comites de Vigilance" (Defense Committees) and of the "Entente democratique" (democratic alliance) into real **committees of struggle**, by expelling the bourgeois "liberals," and introducing revolutionary militants and delegates elected by plant and neighborhood. The **workers' militia** must be organized, the neo-fascist bands tracked down and disarmed, all suspicious traffic in weapons must be stopped, the maneuvers of the secret police must be foiled — that secret police which yesterday collaborated with the Gestapo and today covers up the plots of the neo-fascists.

In order completely to frustrate the plans of the bourgeoisie, to prevent forever the return of a reactionary dictatorship, to assure at long last peace and liberty for the laboring masses, to reconstruct the country (not at the expense of the workers and to the profit of the trusts — which could only be a "reconstruction" preparatory to a new and terrible crisis), to reconstruct it soundly in the interest of the whole working population; for this a new and general working class offensive is necessary. The workers must draw the lessons from the events of the past year. In drawing up the balance sheet of the "liberation" of September 1944, they must resolutely pose the objectives of genuine liberation, of working class, socialist liberation.

(To Be Continued)

British Trotskyists Defend Oppressed Colonial Peoples

The Trotskyists in Great Britain, the very heart of the British Empire, are defending the interests of the colonial people and opposing their imperialist oppressors.

The Attlee Government, elected by the workers to **end the rule of the** capitalist class, has betrayed the man**date of the voters.** It is **treacherously con**tinuing the brutal colonial policies of Churchill.

"If the Labor Government in Britain represented the interests of the British working class, they would have intervened, not on the side of the Dutch imperialists but on the side of the Indonesian masses," declares the Mid-November **Socialist Appeal**, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International.

GOVERNMENT UNMASKED

Unmasking the role of the Labor Ministers, the **Socialist Appeal** states that their actions "clearly reveal them as the agents of the British imperialists who are shaking in their shoes lest the fires of colonial revolt spread beyond Java, into Burma, India and other British territories."

Voicing their indignation at the disgraceful actions of the Labor Ministers, the British Trotskyists declare, "it is not enough merely to utter a few meek words in protest," as about 60 Labor Members of Parliament have done.

If these representatives of labor "were really serious in their support of the Indonesian people, they would demand the immediate withdrawal of all British troops."

They would prove their seriousness by calling on the workers to mobilize their full strength and help in forcing the Cabinet to change its policy.

But, like the leaders of the Stalinist party, the Labor Members of Parliament hypocritically voice their sympathy with the workers' indignation in mild speeches and empty gestures, "while washing their hands of any effective action."

WHAT IS NEEDED

"Under these conditions," say the British Trotskyists, "it is necessary for the workers to take independent action in defense of their interests, which are the same as the interests of the Indonesian People."

Working class organizations must bring pressure to bear on the government and force it "to end the slaughter in the East, to withdraw troops and allow the Indonesians to choose their own form of government. But at the same time the workers must be prepared to take whatever action is required to carry out these demands."

The **Socialist Appeal** calls attention to the support the Australian and British workers gave to the Indonesians. The Australian longshoremen refused to handle supplies for the Dutch. British seamen refused to sail ships carrying Dutch troops.

The Australian dockers and British seamen "set a noble and inspiring example to the workers of Britain" and the rest of the world.

Calling for the extension of such militant action, the British Trotskyists demand:

"Not a man, not a gun for the imperialists! Hands off Java! Solidarity with the colonial peoples in their struggle for freedom!"

Quick Change Artist

"Wilhelmina Urges Changes In Empire"—right-hand top headline, Page 2, **N. Y. Times**, Nov. 21.

"RAF Planes Bomb Central Java City"—left-hand top headline, Page 2, **N. Y. Times**, Nov. 21.

BATTLE VETERAN HITS BRASS HAT LUXURY LIVING

The privileges enjoyed by officers and their autocratic actions toward enlisted men are bitterly denounced in a letter printed in the November 30 **Congressional Record**, from a soldier stationed in Heidelberg, Germany.

This soldier who spent 142 days in a combat area, says that his commanding officer acts as though he had "taken his training under Simon Legree."

"I once read in the paper," continues the soldier, "that some Congressmen expect riots and mass desertion over here this winter. They will get them if these dogs continue to treat us the way they do."

In contrast to the privations suffered by the enlisted men, the officers "have all the liquor they need; they all have a car or means to command a vehicle." He states that "the hotels and houses where they live are nothing but houses of prostitution."

In spite of their privileges, the officers "make life miserable for us." To describe how they do this, the soldier declares, would require writing a "sizeable book."

The letter ends with the hope that "some day I'll be able to even the score a little."

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"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."

Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy.

—Leon Trotsky

The Minneapolis Case

Two years ago, on December 31, the 18 defendants in the Minneapolis Case began serving sentences in Federal prisons.

The "crime" of these Trotskyists consisted solely of political opposition to imperialist war. They were victims of the Wall Street warmongers just as the great American Socialist leader, Eugene V. Debs, was a victim of Wall Street in the First World War.

The Minneapolis Case gained national prominence. The Civil Rights Defense Committee organized a tremendous campaign of protest against the indictments, the trial and the imprisonment. Before the case was ended, labor organizations representing more than 5,000,000 workers supported the Trotskyists in this battle. Only the Stalinists, who rabidly supported Wall Street's war, were conspicuous by their absence. They lined up with reaction against the prisoners and even howled for severer penalties.

The case began July 15, 1941, when Roosevelt's agents indicted 29 Trotskyists and trade unionists for "seditious conspiracy." The United States was still at peace. But Roosevelt was heading the country straight for war. The persecution of the Trotskyists was a reactionary political move, designed as a blow against the working class. It was part and parcel of Roosevelt's war drive. However, while Roosevelt railroaded the Trotskyists to prison, he publicly proclaimed his love for democracy and peace.

Today it is obvious to virtually everone that Wall Street's sole concern in the war was over markets, colonies and spheres of influence. The bloody events in China, Indo-China and Indonesia as well as the repression of the workers in Greece, Italy, Belgium and Germany reveal how reactionary Wall Street's aims actually were.

In the light of these events it is instructive to recall some of Comrade James P. Cannon's testimony at the trial—part of the testimony on which he and the others were sent to prison. This testimony, printed by Pioneer Publishers as a pamplet, **Socialism on Trial,** has proved to be the most popular revolutionary Socialist work produced in the Second World War.

"Fundamentally wars are caused by the efforts of all the capitalist powers to expand into other fields," declared Comrade Cannon. "The only way they can get them is by taking them away from some other power, because the whole world has been divided up among a small group of imperialist powers . . ."

Comrade Cannon, who is National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, indicated the only real road to peace. Events since that day in the Minneapolis court room in 1941 have served only to underline his words: "The workers must organize themselves independently of the capitalist political parties. They must organize a great party of their own, and oppose the policy of the capitalist parties, regardless of whether they are called Democratic or Republican, or anything else . . . The necessary transition from the present system of capitalism to the far more efficient order of Socialism can only be brought under a leadership of the workers."

Stalinist Scabs

Stalinist attempts to represent themselves as labor "militants" during the current "left-turn" of the Communist Party are completely exposed by the CP's role in the GM strike.

On December 8 the CIO United Automobile Workers General Motors Conference in Detroit appealed by unanimous resolution to the Stalinist leaders of the CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers "to immediately recommend to their GM membership that a strike be called at all GM plants under their juridisdiction."

When this resolution was adopted, the GM workers were already in the third week of a tremendous struggle that everyone recognizes is the spearhead of American labor's fight for decent wages and security.

Yet, the striking General Motors auto workers were compelled to make a special public plea to a sister CIO union because the Stalinist UE leaders were using every pretext to prevent some 30,000 UE members in the GM Electrical Division from striking in unity with their embattled auto union brothers and sisters.

The answer of the treacherous Stalinists came a few days later. The **Daily Worker,** December 13, stated that despite an overwhelming strike vote "the union (UE), which charges managements seek to force a strike before Christmas, has announced there will be no walkout authorized against the three companies (General Electric, Westinghouse AND GENERAL MOTORS) this year."

No sir, the Stalinists will never be "forced" into a strike "merely" to discontinue aid to a union-busting corporation trying to crush 225,000 workers engaged in a titanic, back-to-the-wall battle.

The Stalinists may play "Santa Claus" and cynically "explain" about keeping 30,000 workers on the job in a struck corporation, despite the willingness and readiness of the UE members to join the picket lines, because of "Christmas," but every honest and sincere unionist will brand these Stalinist UE leaders for what they are—scabby tools of the employers.

Crocodile Tears

According to legend, the crocodile is not only one of the most savage representatives of the animal kingdom but also one of the most hypocritical. While devouring a victim—claims the ancient story—the crocodile in sympathy with its sufferings sheds copious tears.

But the crocodile has nothing on Congress when it comes to pure unadulterated hypocrisy. This is shown in its attitude toward Hitler's Jewish victims.

The few remaining Jewish people who survived the Nazi terror in Europe now face extinction. Renewed anti-Semitism hounds them. Starvation and disease take a mounting toll.

By simply revising the reactionary U. S. immigration laws, Congress could save these people from death.

The political representatives of American imperialism, however, prefer to shed tears while the Jewish people die. Out of sympathy for the sufferings of these victims, Congress on December 19—just before recessing for Christmas—passed a resolution calling on the Truman Administration to "use its good offices" with Britain to permit free entry of Jews into —Palestine!

The resolution, naturally, does not even bind Truman to utter a few words. It has no force on Wall Street's British ally. It carefully avoids any mention of America as a possible haven for these persecuted people. Congress, in brief, simply passed a hypocritical expression of sympathy.

The only realistic measure Congress could have taken to save the Jewish victims would have been to open up the gates of America. Only deeds speak in cases like this.

By its failure to help the Jewish people through concrete action, Congress shares responsibility for their fate.

Stalinists And FEPC

At the beginning of the war, the Negro people in the struggle to secure their democratic rights threatened a march on Washington. To head off this political danger to his Administration, Roosevelt in 1941 set up the Fair Employment Practices Committee. The FEPC, ostensibly intended to combat race prejudice in hiring, actually could accomplish little, since it lacked any real power.

Pointing out that the FEPC had authority to investigate only in war plants, the **Militant** predicted capitalist reaction would kill even this feeble agency "after the war."

Last July our prediction was borne out. Forming a united front, Republicans and Democrats in Congress in a shameful unrecorded vote cut down the appropriation of the FEPC to $250,000.

In a headline, the July 21 **Militant** declared: "Southern Bourbon Spokesmen Succeed in Lynching FEPC." "It is evident that the FEPC is dead as a dodo," stated the **Militant's** news report. Our front page cartoon pictured Senators Bilbo and Eastland, and Representative Rankin stringing up the FEPC to a tree with buzzards swooping down for the feast.

"The lesson for the Negro people is clear," we declared. "If trust is placed in a reactionary government to end discrimination, the battle is lost from the start. Only through militant struggle can even the mildest concessions be gained."

The correctness of this analysis was borne out very shortly by the closing down of one regional FEPC office after another. Today only three still keep open their doors.

In contrast to our analysis, the perfidious **Daily Worker,** mouthpiece of the American Stalinists, hailed the action of Congress in cutting down the appropriation as a "victory" for the Negro people! The July 13 issue of the **Daily Worker**—believe it or not—proclaimed the lynching of FEPC as a "smashing defeat for red-baiting, as well as a victory for the right of Negroes, Jews, Mexicans and other minorities to work without discrimination."

Why this astounding lie? Why this frantic effort of the Stalinists to paint up the strangling of FEPC as a victory?

The July 21 **Militant** explained this too: "The Stalinists have given the Roosevelt regime vociferous support. In the New York election they are now throwing their forces behind O'Dwyer, Democratic candidate for mayor. To justify this support they are willing to go to any lengths in whitewashing the Democratic Party.

Only now—six months after the FEPC received its death blow—do the Stalinists suddenly discover that this crime against racial minorities has been committed. In this case, as in all others, it is not the facts themselves that have determined the Stalinist line. An order from the Kremlin via Duclos is responsible for the Stalinist shift in line, and another order tomorrow will shift it in the opposite direction. The Negro people and the workers generally can have nothing but the utmost contempt for these Stalinist tricksters, liars and betrayers.

"Dear, don't you think you're working too hard?"

Workers' BOOKSHELF

ZAPATA THE UNCONQUERABLE, by Edgcumb Pinchon; 332 pp. Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1941. Originally $3; now $1, through Pioneer Publishers.

To relate the life of Emiliano Zapata is to relate the story of the Mexican Revolution of 1910. From 1910, when the storm broke against the cruel feudal oppression, until 1919, when he was shot down by assassins, Zapata was concerned with one goal —land to the peasants, and freedom from the landowners (hacendados) and their government.

Zapata's unceasing struggle on behalf of the toiling peons of Mexico, is told in novel form in Edgcumb Pinchon's book, "Zapata the Unconquerable."

STRENGTH OF THE MASSES

It was a pitifully small handful that began the struggle under Zapata, but it grew and finally drove the landowners out of Southern Mexico. Zapata's leadership, based on implacable and independent struggle, on the armed strength of the masses, was the movement's strength. What Pinchon calls his "clairvoyant Indian intuition" was Zapata's unerring class instinct, his distrust of any power except that of the people themselves.

Zapata called his army a "people in arms," and truly it was just that. Peasants flocked to his army shouting "Viva la revolucion!" "Land and Liberty." Carrying on desperate battles with one carbine to a few men, with only the ammunition they could wrest from the enemy, depending for food on the poor of the villages, who gladly shared their meager stores with them, Zapata's army went on, increasing from 200 to 5,000, to 8,000, finally to 20,000 men. So popular was the Zapatista cause among the poor peasants that they say "even the stones were Zapatistas."

In the first stages of the revolution Zapata's army fought for the program advanced by Francisco Madero, liberal member of a large landowning family. Madero planned to set up a bourgeois democracy in Mexico. He hoped to solve the land problem by confiscating the large haciendas and paying the owners.

Madero came completely under the domination of the reactionary landowners. The state apparatus and the army acted in the interest of the hacendados against the revolutionary peons. The promised reforms were not carried out. When Madero's role became clear, Zapata broke with him and called the peons to arms once more.

ONLY BY THE PEOPLE

"Justice for the people, amigos, never will be obtained by correctos in top hats, but only by the people themselves," he said. "And so, as one of you — as one who has seen his own father's land wrenched away from the hands that tilled it, as one who has seen the villages where he was born stripped of its last milpa — I have drawn up a plan."

This plan, known as The Plan of Ayala, was the program of the Zapatista army. It provided that "the lands, woods and waters torn from the villages by legal trickery and tyrannical force hereby are immediately restored to the possession of their rightful owners . . . And all villagers who so have lost their lands are hereby instructed to enter upon them and hold them with arms in hand . . . Such hacendados as feel themselves wronged in this matter may make their protest before a special tribunal that will be established for this purpose upon the triumph of the revolution."

Finally victorious, Zapata and Pancho Villa, the leader of the armies of the North, met near Mexico City. They had a program for the peasants, but none for the workers — and no program to combat the powerful United States imperialism in Mexico. Because of their failure to understand the crucial importance of these key issues, they were helpless.

"'In a day or two we shall march into Mexico City together,' said Villa. 'But what shall we do there?' asked Zapata. Pancho chuckled. 'You don't want to be president, eh?' Zapata stared at him incredulously. 'What would a man like myself be doing in the Palacio Nacional?' 'Well, that's just what I feel myself. Give me troops and an enemy, and I know what to do about it, but give me the Palacio Nacional, and I should be stumped . . . here we are, two lost hombres — masters of all Mexico. And what to do about it?' . . . A week or two, and . . . Zapata . . . decided that the right place for him was in the field . . . (he) withdrew to Morelos to await the turn of events."

The opportune moment of the revolution was lost. Carranza, backed by U. S. imperialism, took over power in Mexico. He rbuted Villa. After a bitter, bloody, four-year struggle, his army isolated and with all odds against it, Zapata was tricked and assassinated in 1919, and his "Liberator Army of the South" was crushed.

The valiant, relentless struggle of Zapata and his army against the landowners and their political agents, with its shortcomings as well as its greatness, is one with which every revolutionist should be acquainted.

Reviewed by Miriam Carter

Congressmen At Work

In the debate on the United Nations Organization, the war-making powers of Congress came up for discussion. The majority of Wall Street's Congressmen wanted to turn these powers over to the delegate appointed by the President to the "Security Council" of the UNO. Senator Wheeler of Montana, however, asked Congress to think twice and retain these powers.

Senator Fulbright of Arkansas led the pack against the lone wolf from Montana: "Is it the Senator's thought that the Congress has ever had much influence on whether or not the nation went to war?"

Wheeler responded: "No, it is not. As a matter of fact, the Congress has never made war, and in my judgment has never been responsible for war. It has always been the acts of the diplomats that have led us into war. It is a step-by-step process."

Moving in closer for the kill, Fulbright asked: "As a practical matter, the Senator does not seriously believe, does he, that the right of Congress to make war will ever be very significant in modern warfare?"

"Of course not," responded Wheeler. "Not only is it not significant in modern times, but it never has been."

Fulbright let Wheeler have it: "I do not see why the Senator thinks it is necessary to argue that the war power must remain in Congress, when it has never been important." That crushing argument should have convinced the worst die-hard that Congress ought to delegate its war-making powers to a single individual.

Wheeler, however, simply bared his teeth at Fulbright and slashed back with a point on morals: "One of the leading editorial writers of the country . . . said to me . . . 'You know, do you not, that any President can get us into war at any time he wishes to do so.' I replied. 'That is correct. He has the power to do so, but he has no legal or moral right to do so.'"

This "moral right," declaimed Wheeler, should be retained by Congress. Of course, emphasized the Montana Senator, it must be taken for granted that Congress will never exercise this right in such a way as to delay plunging the country into war! "Whenever the President has sent a message to Congress asking for a declaration of war, the Congress of the United States has never at any time denied the request."

Senator Willis of Indiana backed up Wheeler with a concrete instance: "When Japan attacked Pearl Harbor . . . The very next day — the day after Pearl Harbor was attacked — this Congress voted overwhelmingly to go to war. Hitler could not have asked better co-operation of the Reichstag."

But it takes a lot to convince Congressmen going down the line one hundred per cent for Wall Street. Senator Knowland of California objected: "Is it not a fact that it has taken us approximately five days in the Senate to discuss the particular legislative proposal now pending?" In Knowland's opinion five days is too long to discuss such a question as plunging the country into war. Even a "cooling off" period, for instance, which Wall Street wants to hamstring the unions with, could not possibly be used for hamstringing Wall Street's wars.

As for leaving the war-making powers up to the people through a referendum vote on war or peace, none of the Congressmen, naturally, even discussed that possibility. To let the people decide on war or peace might slow down the stampede to get into World War III and that would endanger Wall Street's profits!

PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By CHARLES CARSTEN

ARE VETERANS SELFISH?

A veteran recently discharged from the air force said he thought veterans were selfish in their demands for special benefits. "Their interests and needs are the same as those of the rest of the people. And, besides, everyone made sacrifices during the war."

There is no denying that the working class, both veteran and non-veteran, made great sacrifices during the war. There is no denying that war takes a great toll — in human lives, suffering and destruction.

But sacrifice among the population was unequal. Capitalists made huge fortunes — the greatest profits in the entire history of capitalism. Their take ran into billions of dollars. They made no sacrifice.

Whereas the working class paid for the war while it was in progress and is paying for it now. Taxes were and remain enormous. The cost of living rose fantastically while wages were frozen. Men and women worked long, life-draining hours in factories; their health was impaired, in many cases ruined.

Veterans Have Special Problems

While the hardships suffered by workers at home were great, servicemen were forced to make even greater sacrifices. And service in the armed forces has created special problems for them.

First, many men were drafted into the army before they had finished school. After spending several years in the armed forces they came back mature men who are either unable or unwilling to depend on parents and relatives for their livelihood. They want to complete their education. But in order to do so they must be paid a living wage while they are attending school.

Other young men never had the time to learn a trade or an opportunity to get a steady job. They lost valuable years of their youth — the most productive years of life. The handicap of wasted years makes struggle in this viciously competitive society more difficult.

Countless other veterans lost their health and with it their earning power. Thousands were disabled for life. More thousands had their health destroyed in one way or another — by tropical diseases, by wounds from which they will never fully recover, etc. Still others will suffer for years, if not for life, from nervous disorders caused by combat.

They Deserve Special Consideration

Existing legislation doesn't adequately provide for the needs of these men. They are deserving of special consideration because they have been handicapped through no fault of their own.

When they ask for the benefits they were promised, Wall Street propagandists attempt to brand them as a "selfish" group, conveniently forgetting that "nothing is too good for our boys." Wall Street's agents in the Veterans Administration and in the rest of the government cut down on aid to the veterans as much as they dare to. Congressional lackeys of Big Business will not pass legislation to meet the needs of the men who were decorated with medals and then quickly forgotten.

Who will fight for the needs of the veterans? Who will force the government to give proper medical care and adequate pensions to the disabled? Surely no group in society has a greater interest than the veterans themselves. These tasks can't be left to the Brass Hats, Gold Braid and Wall Street politicians. They have shown that their attitude toward the veterans is one of complete indifference.

Veterans are not acting in a selfish manner when they ask for enough to live on, for jobs, care for their comrades who were disabled, education for the young men who didn't have a chance to finish school.

They are asking the government to pay off on the promises so lavishly made when men were needed for the war. They are merely asking for their share of the wealth this nation is capable of producing.

But to get it, as everyone knows, they will have to organize and fight for it. Organized in alliance with the labor movement they will be invincible.

Some Revealing Facts On Wages and Profits

By Jeff Thorne

Even if the unions win 30 per cent wage increases, American workers will still be 20 per cent short of a minimum decent, healthful standard of living, CIO investigations reveal. The CIO has also disclosed that industry could pay a 38 per cent raise, without increasing prices, and still double pre-war profits in 1946.

These are among the figures and facts in a new free pamphlet, "The CIO Case for substantial Pay Increases," published by the Congress of Industrial Organizations, 718 Jackson Place, NW., Washington 6, D. C.

The pamphlet shows the average worker's pay has been cut $10.75 a week, from $46.35 to $35.60, because of reduced hours, down-grading and loss of overtime pay. But the Heller Committee has found that the minimum American health and decency standard of living requires a weekly family income of $57.97. The CIO proposed only to restore the $46.35 wartime average by means of a 30 per cent wage raise.

Wartime profits of corporations totaled $52 billions after taxes, the pamphlet shows. More than half these profits, $26.1 billions, were kept in corporation treasuries and the rest paid to stockholders, mainly to "America's 60 Families."

The average rate of corporate profits rose two and a half times during the war, from $3.4 billions pre-war to $8.7 billions a year during the war. Manufacturing alone increased profits from $2.1 billions to a war average of $5 billions yearly.

The Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion estimates 1946 profits, after taxes, will total $10.5 billions — more than three times pre-war profits. Allowing for normal increase in labor productivity and by only doubling profit instead of trebling it, the corporations could raise pay 38 per cent, according to the pamphlet.

It quotes the Department of Commerce: "In the absence of a general lift in wage rates, total wages and salaries (exclusive of government) next year (1946) will be about 20 billion dollars below the 1944 total of 83 billion dollars." To restore this $20-billions cut would take a general 31 per cent wage increase.

Without the wage increase, about $20 billions of "surplus" goods will pile up yearly, factories will close and the worst depression in history will be on. Already wanton destruction of army-navy "surpluses" has begun the "plowing under" process.

WORKERS' FORUM

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of "The Militant" Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers. Keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed.

rites About Dire Poverty in Japan

Editor:

I think that readers of **The Militant** will be interested in the following letter which I received recently from a serviceman:

"Well, I finally arrived in Japan. I'm 200 miles north of Tokyo. Most of this place has been bombed flat but FLAT. The building in which we have our barracks is almost too good to be true. It is a five-story affair that covers a whole city block of the town but which would only be approximately one-half a block of an American city. It was an insurance office building and is the most modern in the whole town, or Japan for that matter. The offices on the top floor are larger than two classrooms of any school and they have been partitioned off into five-man sleeping quarters. Downstairs are all the offices of the various military sections. The Japanese do the K.P., clean the walls, halls, etc., etc. We only sweep our own quarters and deposit it in the halls for them to pick up.

"So far, all I've done is sit and wait.

"The Japanese here in authority at present were former underlings who have been given power but they have been dictated to by the Japanese Army officials for so long that they have no idea of what to do. They either are afraid to make any decision because of the Military Government or don't know how to make a decision.

"The present Japanese government (appointed by the U. S.) hasn't the slightest idea of where to begin to go to work. It dares not make any decision, even on the most insignificant subject. They have no program of rationing food supplies for the coming winter, whatever. Our greatest concern is of the food supplies and health.

"The people out here don't waste an inch of ground. If a house was bombed the rubble is cleared away and the plot is planted with whatever crop it can grow. The regular farmers plant a sort of potato or rutabaga and when it is gathered they dry it in the sun. They also do some fishing and dry the fish in the same way. Despite all this, starvation and short rations is a regular thing.

"Listen to this: Our washcans for our mess kits are outside the building and there is a regular gang of kids and grown-ups waiting to gather the scraps which the GIs deposit in the cans when they leave the mess hall. Back in Hora Machida (West Point of Japan) I saw a whole family, father, mother, son, daughter, and a baby digging into the garbage cans outside the mess hall. Here, in this town, the people are generally more well-to-do but starvation still prevails. We expect riots this winter.

"These people are very short. If a boy looks about seven years old, you can bet your last dollar, he's more than 15. I guess the malnutrition and the poverty, in general, will have a disastrous effect upon them."

George Storen
San Francisco, Calif.

GM's WILSON

G.M. Executive's "Living Wage"

Editor:

In view of the proletariat's attempt to get livable wages, doesn't the following strike you as (in the vernacular of John L. Lewis) "foul smelling?"

In 1943, according to the Treasury Department reports, Charles E. Wilson, head of General Motors, took for himself from that corporation $459,041. That figuges out to $38,253.43 per month, $1,275.11 per day, $53.12 per hour. That, of course, is for a 24-hour day. For an 8-hour day he makes $159.36 per hour!

And now they are trying to pass a law that the workers have no legal right to strike for decent wages!

The figures I quoted are from **Labor**, organ of the railway unions.

Gloria Hudson Fiala
Chicago, Ill.

How to Fight Boss Stooges

Editor:

A dangerous situation recently grew up in our shop, which is often paralleled. This case was handled right, so the result was good. Its lessons are widely applicable.

It was in a fairly new international Ladies' Garment Workers Union shop where we had established good conditions from the start. Some of us were old-timers but most of the workers were rather new in the union. A few were of the boss' stooge type.

One of these had become forelady. At first she seemed rather fair to the workers, but they soon learned where her interests were —with the boss, to hold her job. One old-timer who knew her well, had warned us of her, but we had let it slide.

As the union grew stronger in the shop the boss and the forelady had to do something about it. The forelady quietly rallied the backward elements around her. Slanders were whispered against the Old-Timer. Every newcomer was lined up.

This Old-Timer had stuck to the union through thick and thin from the dark days before the general strike of '33. She is an outspoken militant. Weak sisters could not get away with much while she was around. She is of German origin, so the lie was whispered that she was a Nazi although she hated and fought fascism in every form.

Loud-mouths who had no time to do anything for the union but were always ready to collect funds for gifts to the boss, defended the forelady's disruptive attempts to cause friction and division. They put the blame on Old-Timer, called her a trouble maker, accused her of trying to rule the shop. They wanted her out—and nearly succeeded.

Then the union stepped in. Our business agent is intelligent and thorough. He quickly grasped the real situation. This was his decision:

"The old-timers will be upheld by this union at all times. They are the backbone of the union. We have ways and means to teach backward newcomers better unionism—and we'll do it."

The decision alone was inspiring. It brought a timely sobering and solidarity into our shop for the much bigger tasks now confronting workers everywhere.

R. F. C.
Philadelphia

A Socialist Answer To Negro Nationalists

Editor:

Through this message, I hope to reach many of my people, and offer them the truth they so earnestly desire.

I am a Negro with every respect for African culture, and for the many Negro people who dream of returning to Africa, to the land of our forefathers. America has been so cruel to us, while we in return have served this country faithfully since the day we were brought here.

With an understanding heart I turn to my people in sincerity, and urge them to consider this message. I have found the answer to our problem and offer it to all who seek to escape from this land of oppression, discrimination and exploitation.

Today many people are spreading the word that "we must return to Africa — must pass the word among others—." Invitations are being given for private meetings. These people are sincere in their desire for a mass movement of Back to Africa. The word has reached me, and this is my reply to the Negroes of every section, and in every land.

We as Negroes have every right to be proud of Africa's brilliant contribution to the world. We have a right to desire freedom from the evils we have known from the beginning of our American history. We have a right to seek to start a mass movement.

My people have worked and died, and America alone has gained by our presence here. It is the Negro people who have suffered untold agony under oppression with no hope of freedom in this world. In every war we have died. In every "peace" our rights have been forgotten. From our oppression rises the desire to seek freedom in Africa.

To close our eyes to the cause of our oppression is to grant the wish of the oppressors. We must realize that the real issue of our oppression is the profit system. So long as the capitalists profit by dividing the workers because of their race, color or creed, so long will it live.

If we were completely free and equal in every way, I don't think many of my people would desire to turn their backs on the world in an attempt to live completely within Africa.

Nationalism raised its head because of oppression. With freedom it would vanish. But even if it did not, the will of the majority could get nationalism in a socialist society.

To work for nationalism while living under capitalism, however, is without foundation. We as Negroes have a responsibility to the future generation. It is our duty as parents to prepare for those to follow. We must fight united —not as a minority race, but as a part of the working class, white and black working side by side for freedom, knowing that both suffer exploitation and various forms of discrimination.

As a minority we can fail, but as a class, the working class, there can be but one failure, the failure of our oppressors.

We must not become bitter; we must become educated to our class. We must join with white workers who work militantly for Negro equality because they know the common enemy of the working class. There is no other road to Negro equality except the road of class struggle. Join in the fight of the Socialist Workers Party, learn of our movement. These are the things we must investigate. Let us become free here, and then seek freedom in Africa if that is our desire.

Even in Africa, without socialism we would not be free. There would be ways to divide the people. Some would rise to oppress and exploit others. We would soon realize the necessity for a socialist Africa. Only socialism will end oppression and exploitation.

I have written these truths because the problems of my people are very close to me. They are problems of the working class, and I too am a worker. I urge you to come and join and fight with us for the freedom of all oppressed peoples.

Victor A. Howell
New York, N. Y.

Stalinist Slanders Refuted In Flint

Editor:

The following is a quotation from an article by William Allan in the **Daily Worker**, December 10, reporting on the UAW's General Motors Conference held in Detroit December 8:

"This 'labor party' emerges from Trotskyite literature whose peddlers have been chased off picket lines by the strikers because they have no union labels on their leaflets."

I have actively participated in the distribution of the regular weekly **Militant** and the special Michigan edition on all picket lines of the GM strikers here in Flint. In order to best answer these Stalinist lies, I want to give you the reactions I found on these distributions.

We were never chased off any picket line, nor did we meet any objections to our distribution, not even from the few dead pigeon Stalinists who are still following the Communist Party line here in Flint. **The Militant** is today unofficially the official paper of the strike; outside of the few bulletins published periodically by the different locals, **The Militant** is the only labor paper distributed to the strikers.

Tens and tens of workers have approached us to tell us that it is a very good paper. Many insist on paying for it even knowing that it is distributed free. Without any solicitation on our part, some workers have given us subscriptions right on the picket lines, and many others have told us that they will subscribe when they return to work. They are all eager to receive our paper and all have favorable comments to make.

The Militant is widely read on all the picket lines and in the union halls. Our comrades and friends report that workers read it from beginning to end, then fold it neatly and put it in their pockets.

I will not answer the lie that we don't carry the union label on our literature. This slander is fantastic and is intended only for their own ranks who are probably asking why the Communist Party is not out with the **Daily Worker.**

While those agents of Stalin's bureaucracy must resort to slanders and lies to retain their membership in the midst of this great labor upsurge, we are building a party that will be the undisputed leader of the American workers for the establishment of socialism.

R. Carli
Flint, Mich.

Wants Column On Women and Socialism

Editor:

While I was reading **The Militant** the other day, an idea occurred to me that I would like to pass on to you. It is true that **The Militant** is now a real workers' paper. The feature articles in the paper are eagerly read by workers to whom we speak. **The Militant** is a real guide to the worker in his every struggle and his trade union problems.

Experience in our recent sub campaigns has proved that when we point out Charles Jackson's column to a Negro and explain the purpose of the column to him, he shows a quick interest, because it is directly related to him.

However, I would like to point out that there is one section of the population that we tend to neglect in our paper. I am referring to the women, who in a great many instances are doubly exploited, as workers and as housewives.

Why not have a column devoted to the women? The articles written by Comrade Grace Carlson were excellent, but our "Woman's" Column should be a permanent one, as attractively set up as the other regular columns.

Often in our sub campaigns the woman of the house will come to the door, and after we explain our paper to her she replies that her husband is the worker in the house, these things don't concern her, she isn't interested in politics, etc.

In such a column we would explain to her that when we refer to the workers' problems, we are also referring to her problems as a worker's wife. It would explain what her status will be under socialism.

We tell the worker that under socialism he will have time for education, for culture, for travel, etc. Yet the woman upon reading these articles may think, "Well, that's fine but what will my position be? After all there will still be families, small children to raise and care for, the same old household tasks to perform."

The American woman needs to be educated in the ideas of socialism. We can do it through **The Militant.** Our paper must be not only a workers' paper but a paper for the worker's whole family. With so much activity taking place in the labor movement today it is only too easy to forget the women at home.

J. M.
Los Angeles

The Lies of Stalin's Moscow Trials . . . And The Nuremberg Trials

Editor:

It occurred to me recently, as I am certain it has to many readers of **The Militant,** that now is an appropriate time to expose before the workers of America once again the dastardly crime of the butcher in the Kremlin, "Father of All the Russias," traitor to the world proletariat, Joseph Stalin. Now is the time to point again the finger of our great Comrade Trotsky and of the vast numbers of other victims of GPU terror, at the hangman of the Russian masses.

Almost one decade has passed since Stalin, in one vast stroke of his bloody hand, legally assassinated the "Old Bolshevik" guard together with tens of thousands of revolutionary Russian workers who could not be forced to confess, who died rather than profane the name of the great leader of the October Revolution, Leon Trotsky.

While the fascist beasts now stand exposed at Nuremburg for their bloodthirsty reign of terror against the people of all Europe — and not least of all — against the working-class militants of Germany — it is appropriate to expose once and for all the fraud of the Moscow Trials. About the confessions in Moscow, silence in Nuremburg. Not a word has been heard about the lying accusation of "Trotskyist dealings with Hitler," "German gold for Trotsky," ad infinitum, ad nauseum. Stalin's filthy lies which served as a pretext for the liquidation of thousands of revolutionary workers and Left Oppositionists in the Soviet Union stand exposed before mankind for what they are —lies, lies, lies! Yes, the final proof that the arch criminals are Stalin and the counter-revolutionary Russian bureaucracy is Nuremberg!

Will the Anglo-French-American legal minds use Nuremberg to vindicate Trotsky and the thousands who fell before the GPU in the Soviet Union? To ask the question is to answer it! The diplomatic ties of the "democracies" with the Stalin traitors are all too close! Why, none other than Stalin's Vishinsky, "state prosecutor" during the Moscow Trials, Right-Menshevik during the October Revolution, has been sent to Nuremberg as the Russian representative! Can we expect the truth from Vishinsky, who carried through the lamentable "performances" in Moscow, who himself stands accused as the legal assassin of the "Old Bolsheviks?"

The silence about Trotsky, Rakovsky, Zinoviev, Tukhachevsky and the countless others, speaks volumes!

Sam Taylor,
New York, N. Y.

READ
Fourth International

Pioneer Notes

The Revolution Betrayed, by Leon Trotsky is now being shipped to Socialist Workers Party branches and to those individuals who sent in advance orders. This beautiful new Pioneer edition of one of Trotsky's most important contributions to Marxist literature is receiving enthusiastic response from people here in New York who have already received their copies.

One friend who bought a cloth-bound copy sent in for another paper-bound book. He said, "I have already gotten my book and am more than pleased. I am enclosing $1.00 for which please send me a paper copy. I want this one to study, to mark up, and more than that, to loan to my friends."

Chicago wrote us last week: "Enclosed is our order for the books. Please send them at the earliest possible moment . . . We have a party on for Christmas Eve and want to distribute the prizes for the sub-drive."

The New York literature agent said: "It is wonderful to see this book in print again. We have had so many requests for it, ever since the publication was first announced. Now we will be able to fill the advance orders."

One of the members of the Trotskyist Youth Group said, "I was too young when the first edition came out and I have never been able to get myself a copy. Now I can read and study a book I've always longed to own."

A member of **The Militant** staff exclaimed: "I loaned my original copy of the book to someone and never got it back. This time I'm hanging on to my copy. I think this book is an absolute must in every revolutionist's library. It is a book which you don't just read, you study it and then you study it again."

* * *

THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED, by Leon Trotsky, cloth, $2, paper $1.

Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Friends and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party and **The Militant** rank high among our most conscientious sub-getters. During our recent subscription campaign, **The Militant** was introduced to 85 new readers through this method.

A good friend indeed is **Anthony Parillo** of Ohio who sent us $4 for 4 one-year subscriptions, for his friends.

F. W. Schultz of Austin, Minn., a comparatively new reader of **The Militant** sent us 4 one-year subs he obtained from his shopmates. This is in addition to the 3 one-year subscriptions he sent in a few weeks ago.

* * *

Kent Darrow of Louisiana, an ex-serviceman, has become an enthusiastic **Militant** sub-getter. En route home on the bus, he sold 2 six-month subs to fellow travelers with whom he discussed the principles of **The Militant.** And today's mail brought 2 six-month and 2 one-year subs from his home town.

* * *

From Pittsburgh, Eloise Gordon sent in the following note which contains an excellent suggestion for other branches to follow:

"We've worked out a method of distributing our increased **Militant** bundle, and the fine thing about it is that it works on an expanding scale. The actual distribution is handled by **Militant** subscribers. We merely deliver the bundles to them, and they circulate the paper among their fellow workers in the various steel mills.

"After the first issue was distributed this way, several of our friends asked us to supply them with subscription blanks. Without exception their cooperation is enthusiastic, and their reports indicate that **The Militant** is being warmly received among their fellow workers.

"When we made our deliveries today, a worker from Mesta mill turned over a one-year sub he had obtained from a friend in his mill, and another friend turned in a six-month sub from a fellow worker at Carnegie."

* * *

Now that our subscription campaign is over, **Militant Army** will carry a weekly statistical report on the subscription achievement of the top selling branches:

Local New York: 20 six-month; 3 one-year.

Toledo: 8 six-month.

Connecticut: 6 six-month.

Seattle: 3 six-month; 1 one-year, and 1 one-year combination to **The Militant** and **Fourth International.**

San Pedro: 4 six-month; 1 one-year.

* * *

Another interesting note from our mail bag. **G. Carruthers of Ohio** writes: "Am enclosing 10 cents for the last two issues of **The Militant.** By the time they arrive I will have $1 for a one-year subscription. Please rush the two issues at once."

GM Strikers Publish Special Local Papers

Issues of special strike papers being published by GM local unions have been received by **The Militant.** Although space does not permit notes and quotes from each, these UAW locals are to be commended for recognizing the importance of a strike newspaper to combat the lies and slander of the boss press.

The Fleetwood Organizer, issued by Fleetwood Local 15, UAW, Detroit, was the first GM strike publication to denounce the Ford "fines for strikers" scheme.

The GM Picket, published by the GM City-Wide UAW-CIO Publicity Committee of Detroit, is another lively and informative bulletin. From South Gate, California, comes **The Assembler,** issued by Local 216, announcing that 400 Veterans are on strike alongside their union brothers in the battle against GM.

The Fisher Flash, issued by Fisher Body Local 581 in Flint, Michigan, the **AC Strike Bulletin,** also issued in Flint, are all excellent examples of union strike papers.

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OUR PROGRAM:

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- Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages during the entire period of unemployment!

2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!

- No restriction on the right to strike!
- Withdraw union representatives from the War Labor Board!

3. Organization of the war veterans by the trade unions!

4. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!

- Down with Jim Crow!

5. Working class political action!

- Establish the workers' and farmers' government!
- Build the independent labor party!

6. Tax the rich, not the poor!

- No taxes on incomes under $5,000 a year!

7. A working class answer to capitalist militarism!

- Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!
- Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces!

8. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!

- For the complete independence of the colonial peoples! Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

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116 University Place
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I would like:
☐ To join the Socialist Workers Party.
☐ To obtain further information about your organization.
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January 'Fourth International' Exposes Role Of Imperialism In The Middle East

"It seems to me that because of the urgency, at the present time, it would be advisable to make a thorough analysis of the Jewish question," wrote a contributor to the Workers Forum in the December 15 **Militant.** "The problem of a homeland should be discussed from the sociological, cultural and historical phases."

This is precisely what the current issue of **Fourth International** does. "Zionism or Socialism — which way for the Jews?" is the general heading under which the Jewish problem is considered.

T. Cliff, writing from Jerusalem, surveys the present turbulent situation in the Middle East. He describes the imperialist stake there, showing how imperialist capital dominates this area. He gives an on-the-spot description of the conditions of the working people in the towns and countryside and then analyzes the relation between the native ruling classes and world imperialism.

Subsequent sections of Comrade Cliff's highly informative survey deal specifically with the role of Zionism and the policies of the various working class parties in the critical Middle East zone of world politics.

Fourth International's monthly feature, "From the Arsenal of Marxism," this month contains statements by Leon Trotsky on the Jewish problem. Written in the last years of his life, they sum up the considered opinion on this question of one of the great revolutionary founders of the first workers' state in history.

In one of these statements, dated December 22, 1938, Trotsky predicted: "It is possible to imagine without difficulty what awaits the Jews at the mere outbreak of the future world war. But even without war the next development of world reaction signifies with certainty the physical extermination of the Jews."

Trotsky declared that the only hope for these persecuted people is the "emancipating struggle of the international proletariat . . . Salvation lies only in revolutionary struggle."

World events have since tragically confirmed Trotsky's grave warning. Hitler's frightful slaughter of the Jewish people was possible only because the socialist revolution in Europe has not yet occurred.

The "Review of the Month" analyzes the political trends in the French elections, surveys the nationalization measures of the British Labor Party, and describes Roosevelt's secret preparations to plunge the United States into the Second World War.

Other important articles are "German Prisoners of War in the U. S.," the observations of a soldier; "Newsletter from Argentina;" "Lessons of the 1919 Seattle General Strike," by William Simmons; and "Facing the New Revolutionary Period in Spain," first part of the thesis of the Spanish Section of the Fourth International.

A page of news concerning Trotskyist parties in other lands rounds out the issue.

Like In Indonesia?

"No genuine police force in a world properly organized for it will need atomic bombs. There are plenty of other weapons to keep the peace." (Norman Thomas, Chairman, Post-War World Council, in a letter to the **N. Y. Times,** Nov. 16.)

GERMAN WORKERS PROTEST ALLIED SUPPORT OF NAZIS

BERLIN, Germany, Dec. 2.—The workers of the repair shops of the electrical construction trust have decided to hold a ten minute symbolic strike to express their solidarity with the workers in the Thyssen shops.

The Thyssen workers are on strike, protesting the fact that **the Allies are systematically retaining Nazis in all posts of responsibility.**

(Translated from the December 15 **La Verite,,** organ of the French Trotskyists.)

Mass Meeting Protests Imperialist Butchery

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 14. — Sixty Negro and white workers responded to the call of the Socialist Workers Party to protest the massacre of the colonial peoples by the Allies.

The mass meeting, held at Ostropoler Hall, heard Jesse Brown, militant Negro defender of minority rights; Goldy Cooper of the Militant Labor Forum; Jack Miller of the Trotskyist Youth Group, and Max Geldman, organizer of the Socialist Workers Party in Philadelphia.

Half a billion colored workers are held in servitude by the imperialists in south-eastern Asia, said Comrade Jesse Brown. He drew an analogy between the struggle of the American Negro against Jim-Crow with that of the colonial peoples against imperialism.

"In Java, signs can be seen over theaters and restaurants reading 'for white only.' What is the difference between a Negro Jim-Crowed in Georgia and a colonial worker Jim-Crowed in Java?" asked Comrade Brown.

"It is the same fight against the same oppressor . . . capitalism."

Jack Miller, representative of the Trotskyist Youth Group, explained why capitalism offers no future for the young generation here in America. In Java, continued imperialist rule dooms the youth to a life of enslaved colonials. American youth has no fight with the colonial people or any other foreign people. Miller voiced the sentiments of American youth when he demanded that "All American troops be withdrawn from foreign soil! Stop the undeclared war against the colonial people!"

Comrade Max Geldman explained the attitude of the different parties towards the independence movement in the far east. The Communist Party (Stalinist) which during the war told the colonial people to bow to their imperialist enslavers, is now giving half hearted support to the freedom movements. But the Stalinized Communist parties everywhere urge the colonial people to make a deal with the imperialists.

"Only the Socialist Workers Party has been in the forefront in rallying support and sympathy for our embattled colonial brothers," Geldman explained.

The mass meeting passed a resolution which was sent to President Harry S. Truman demanding the withdrawal of American troops from foreign soil, and an end to the use of American arms in the murder of the colonial people.

Detroit SWP Hears Charles Jackson On Indonesian Struggle

DETROIT, Dec. 16—"The Indonesian Struggle for Independence" was the subject on which Charles Jackson spoke at a meeting held today by the Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party. Comrade Jackson pointed out how closely linked is the Indonesian workers' struggle for independence, with the American Negro's struggle for equality in this country. He emphasized too that no worker, black or white, can have freedom unless all workers are free.

A representative of the All India Congress in Detroit was present. Very much impressed by the meeting, he invited Comrade Jackson to come and address the members of his organization at some future date.

MYRA TANNER WEISS
Socialist Workers Party organizer in Los Angeles, will speak at forums on current strike wave.

Los Angeles SWP Announces Forum

The Los Angeles Section of the Socialist Workers Party has announced a series of forums to be held throughout the city, on the current strike wave. Schedules of these lectures will be found in the "Branch Activities" column on page 7.

The series will deal with the problems of wages, profits, prices and jobs. Each subject will be handled by a highly qualified speaker.

The lectures are designed to arm the workers with facts and figures to prove the justice of their demands. They will help to counter the vicious propaganda attack which has been unleashed in the columns of the capitalist press against the striking General Motors workers in particular.

Also to be stressed is the anti-labor role of President Truman and Congress who are scheming to pass strikebreaking, union-smashing legislation.

Stalinists Peddle Slander Sheet At St. Louis Trotskyist Meeting

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Dec. 14.—Reflecting the frantic fear of the Stalinists at the gains of the genune revolutionary working-class movement, the Communist Party of Missouri tonight distributed a special slanderous leaflet against the "Trotskyites" to workers attending the first open meeting held here by the local Socialist Workers Party branch.

At the meeting John G. Wright, **Fourth International** associate editor, on a national lecture tour, gave a Marxist analysis of the British Labor Party's electoral victory and the leftward movement of the British workers.

The mimeographed Stalinist leaflet, erroneously titled "The Truth About The So-Called 'Socialist Workers Party'," is significant not so much for its content as for the unique fact that this is the first instance in the 17-year history of American Trotskyism that the Stalinists have felt impelled to stand outside an SWP meeing and distribute "anti-Trotskyite" literature.

It is also significant that the leaflet appeals to the workers in the name of "socialism," a word that had virtually disappeared for many years from the Communist Party's vocabulary. The Stalinists claim in their leaflet that they, who long ago abandoned socialism, are the genuine article, while the Trotskyists who have fought consistently and uncompromisingly for socialism are "fake" and nothing less than "wreckers, spies and Nazi stool pigeons."

This latter is a repetition of the moth-eaten slander the Stalinists have always hurled against their working class political opponents, particularly the Trotskyists. The only thing new the leaflet adds is that "documents discovered in Berlin and produced at the Nuremberg trial of Nazi high criminals" show that the "Trotskyites" organized a "Nazi fifth column in the Soviet Union."

Of course, no such documents exists, none were produced at the "Nurember trial," the Trotskyists have always called for defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack—and, in sh this is a particularly crude Stalinist lie.

The leaflet makes a special appeal to Negro workers, because the latter have learned a lo about Stalinist treachery and are turning in great numbers to **The Militant** and SWP.

Cincinnati Workers Hear J. G. Wright

CINCINNATI, O., Dec. 16—In spite of cold weather, the coldest day of the season, many workers in Cincinnati heard John G. Wright, associate editor of **The Militant,** speak on "The Meaning of the British Elections."

Outlining in a clear manner the development of the Labor Party in England, Comrade Wright explained the class meaning of its recent electoral victory. He pointed out, too, that while "in this country the workers are at present less class conscious and politically experienced," there is a development toward a labor party which could rapidly gain momentum and reach great heights. The American labor movement, he emphasized, has tremendous energy and resources, and has never been defeated in the arena of class struggle.

At the close of the meeting, two workers applied for membership in the Socialist Workers Party. A number of others took subscriptions to **The Militant.**

Two Join S.W.P. At Kansas City Meeting

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Dec. 11—John G. Wright's inspiring talk on "The British Labor Victory" was heard by an audience of 18 at the Labor Library here tonight. Comrade Wright's replies to questions which followed the lecture, explained many points of the Socialist Workers Party program for labor in the United States.

Two workers joined the SWP after the discussion period, while a number of others made plans to attend the regular Saturday night meetings of the Kansas City local. Generous contributions were made to further the work of this new branch of the SWP.

PHILADELPHIA SWP HAILS SUCCESS OF SUB CAMPAIGN

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 15—The Philadelphia branch of the Socialist Workers Party celebrated the successful conclusion of the national campaign to secure 10,000 new subscribers to **The Militant,** by holding a special dinner at Embassy Restaurant. 45 friends of **The Militant,** including representatives of the Baltimore and Allentown branches of the SWP, were present.

Max Geldman, Philadelphia branch organizer, announced with pride that there are now 1,000 **Militant** readers in Philadelphia. Other speakers included Therese Stone, leading subgetter; Jesse Brown, militant Negro fighter for minority rights; Able Polin, trade union militant and organizer; and Rose Carey, pioneer Philadelphia Trotskyist.

The Philadelphia branch was particularly successful in the campaign, filling its quota of 300 subs more than twice over, with a final total of 758.

The spirit of the dinner was in keeping with the recent growth of the SWP in Philadelphia. Songs of revolutionary solidarity were sung, and comrades joined in relating experiences gained during the campaign.

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM — by James P. Cannon

Previous installments of Comrade Cannon's book described the emergence of the American Communist Party out of the left wing of the Socialist Party in 1919, the expulsion of the Trotskyists in 1928, the formation of a new party and the Minneapolis Strikes of 1934. In 1935, the Trotskyists turned their attention to a growing left wing tendency in the Socialist Party.

HOW WE FOUGHT STALINISM INSIDE THE S.P.

The general recognition of this fundamental quality of Trotskyism was ironically illustrated during the time we were on trial before the Political Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party in October 1928. Up until the end of the long trial, when we read our declaration and put a stop to all ambiguity, they had been trying to "prove" a case of "Trotskyism" against us by any kind of "circumstantial evidence" they could get. (We had not admitted that we were a Trotskyist faction for tactical reasons, as I have already explained.) They brought in a lot of witnesses, very much in the manner of the prosecutors at our recent trial in Minneapolis, to bring corroborative and circumstantial evidence of our guilt. One little stool pigeon would run in and say he heard this, and another would say he heard that. But the star witness was the manager of the Communist Party's bookshop. He said he could swear that Shachtman was a Trotskyist. Why? How did he know? "Because he is always coming into the bookstore, trying to get books on China, and I know China is a Trotskyist question." The little weasel wasn't so far wrong at that. China was indeed a Trotskyist question, as were all questions of world import.

The Spanish civil war, the Moscow trials, and the turmoil in the French labor movement—these questions dominated the whole internal life of the Socialist Party. The most animated discussion revolved around these issues, entirely against the will of the leadership. They wanted to confine themselves to practical business, that is, to routine. "Let us settle down and do a practical job here." But these issues occupied the interests of all those who took the word Socialism seriously, and we organized a deliberate campaign to educate the rank and file of the party on their meaning.

We Expose The Infamous Moscow Trials

As the Moscow trials were reported from day to day, it became obvious that the real object was once again to implicate Trotsky and if possible to bring about his extradition and his execution in Russia; or, in any case, to discredit him before the labor movement of the world. It must be said that the American Trotskyists did not sleep in this situation. We jumped into the breach, did the best political job we had ever done and rendered our greatest service to the cause of the Fourth International in exposing the Moscow Frameup Trials. **It was owing to the existence of the American section of the Fourth International and to the fact that we were members of the Socialist Party at the time, that a work could be started which eventually blew up and discredited the Moscow trials throughout the whole world.**

It was required for us historically, at that crucial moment, to be members of the Socialist Party and by that to have closer access to elements—liberals, intellectuals and half-radical political people—who were necessary for the great political task of the Trotsky Defense Committee. I don't think Stalin could have arranged those trials as well at any other time to insure their complete discreditment as in the summer of 1936. We were then in the most favorable situation as members of the Socialist Party—and, therefore, surrounded to a certain extent with the protective coloration of a half-way respectable party—and we couldn't be isolated as a small group of Trotskyists, mobbed and lynched, as they planned to do.

We conducted a terrific campaign to expose the trials and defend Trotsky. The Stalinists, for all their vast resources of apparatus, press, stooge organizations and money, were put on the defensive from the start. Our comrades in New York, assisted by those throughout the country, were able to initiate the organization of a rather formidable-appearing committee, with John Dewey as chairman and an imposing list of writers, artists, newspapermen and professional people of various kinds who sanctioned and sponsored the movement to organize an inquiry into the Moscow trials.

This inquiry, as you know, was eventually held at Mexico City in the spring of 1937. The case was thoroughly sifted; out of it came two great books which are and will remain forever classics of the world labor movement, **The Case of Leon Trotsky and the** second one, the report of the commission, **Not Guilty.** This tremendous political task, which unquestionably resulted in the heaviest blow that we ever dealt to Stalinism, was made possible by this favorable conjuncture of events I have mentioned. A few months later, at the most a few years later, the majority of those petty-bourgeois elements who carried forward such a historically progressive task in the Trotsky Defense Committee were to succumb entirely to bourgeois society and turn their backs on all its irreconcilable opponents. **At least 90 percent of these people would today be physically and morally incapable of actively participating in such a movement as the "American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky." But at that particular conjuncture they were able to serve, and did serve, a great progressive end. The exposure and discreditment of the Moscow trials was one of the great achievements which has to be accredited to our political move of joining the Socialist Party in 1936.**

Clarifying The Issues In Spain

The second big political campaign, carried on while we were in the Socialist Party, was around the events of the Spanish civil war and the Spanish revolution. Substantial reports and even books are the result of this work. I call your attention especially to the book written by Felix Morrow, **Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain** and the pamphlet, **The Civil War in Spain.** This pamphlet and book summed up and codified the great political fight we carried on inside the Socialist Party and publicly. Wherever we had the opportunity we fought to clarify the affairs taking place in Spain and to educate the cadres of the American party on the meaning of those events. Our entry into the Socialist Party facilitated this campaign, gave us an audience right at hand inside of what was then our own party. We didn't really own it But we had our dues paid up and this gave us an audience at every branch meeting of the Socialist Party.

In California, where I lived at the time for reasons of health, work was unfolded in the mass movement. There we quickly integrated ourselves in the party and acquired a leading influence by virtue of our activity, our speeches and political work during the election campaign. As a result, within six months after we had joined the party, a weekly paper was started under the auspices of the Socialist Party of California and I was appointed editor. Circumstances worked very favorably in our behalf. My editorship of the paper and the prominence of our people in the locals and the state organization gave us direct entry, for the first time, into the maritime mass movement.

The great maritime strike of 1936-1937 offered us a wide-open field. While our comrades in the East were developing the campaigns around the Moscow trials and the Spanish civil war, we out there in California were supplementing this great political work by intense activity in the mass movement which influenced the course of events in the great maritime strike of 1936-37. The work that was done there and the contacts that were established enabled us to organize the first nucleus of a Trotskyist fraction. This work has paid great dividends to our party and still continues to do so. The Trotskyists became from then on a progressively stronger factor in the maritime movement. That is one of the surest signs of our party's good future—that it has established a firm base in one of the most important and decisive industries of the country.

In Chicago we had another base of support in the **Socialist Appeal.** This was originally a small mimeographed bulletin published by Albert Goldman and a few other individuals. Goldman had joined the Socialist Party a year ahead of us, as an individual. He had refused to wait for a decision by the party, but joined on his own account just prior to our fusion with the Musteites. Sharp words were exchanged because of this action. It soon became manifest, however, that this organizational secession of Goldman was not intended by him as a principled break with us. From the start he worked constantly in the direction of our program.

As soon as our party became oriented toward entry into the Socialist Party, we reestablished collaboration so effectively that when we gave up our press in response to the demand of the leaders of the Socialist Party, we already had an agreement with Goldman that the **Socialist Appeal,** which was an authorized and established organ in the Socialist Party, would become an official organ of the Trotskyist faction. Our collaboration was reestablished so quickly and so effectively that some people asked whether the whole thing—Goldman's break with the Trotskyist organization and his joining the Socialist Party as an individual, and the polemics between us and Goldman—weren't all a put-up job. That is not so at all. We are not so devious as all that. It just turned out that way; it turned out very well. The mimeographed bulletin was transformed into a printed magazine. The name, **Socialist Appeal** was continued. Despite the suppression of our old press by the "Militants" we soon had a monthly magazine legitimately established in the Socialist Party, espousing our program. By late autumn we had a weekly paper in California, which we called Labor Action—a good name that has not been treated so well in recent years.

Thus, to all intents and purposes, we had our press re-established—a weekly agitational paper and a monthly magazine. "Labor Action" was published under the auspices of the Socialist Party of California, but if it was not a Trotskyist agitational paper, I will never be able to make one. We tried our best to utilize it in that sense. The "Socialist Appeal" became the medium around which our faction was "legally" reconstituted in the Socialist Party.

We Re-establish Our Own Press

In the early part of 1937 we organized a national "Socialist Appeal Conference." Socialist Party members were invited from all parts of the country to come to Chicago to discuss ways and means of advancing the interests of the party. Everybody was welcome regardless of his background or his factional alignment. The sole condition was that he agree with the program of the **Socialist Appeal** which happened to coincide with the program of the Fourth International. On that basis and in that form we constituted in Chicago in the early winter of 1937 what amounted in effect to a new nation-wide Left Wing in the Socialist Party. This time it was a real Left Wing; not a hodgepodge "Militants" caucus, but an organization of party members brought together on the basis of a definite program with leaders who knew what they wanted and were prepared to fight for it.

During all this time of our activity in the Socialist Party, as the fight was developing and we were gaining, the Stalinists were carrying out a tremendous offensive against us. They spent thousands, and I venture to guess, tens of thousands of dollars, in the effort to prevent us from making further headway in the Socialist Party. They were mortally afraid that we would get a sizable group around us. They knew all the time that the real dagger pointed at the heart of Stalinism is the Trotskyist movement, no matter how small it might be at a given moment. This campaign of the Stalinists was sympathetically echoed by a section of the Socialist leadership. They saw the strength and resources of the Stalinists as representatives of a great state power, the Soviet Union.

They were far more impressed by this strength and these resources than by the principled correctness of the Trotskyist program. A section of the "Militants" — not all of them — inclined toward collaboration with the Stalinists, and if we hadn't been in the way, would long since have come into closer relations with them, as in Spain. But we had come in between them and the Stalinists with our criticism and our program, and we had stirred up the rank and file of the Socialist Party against the idea of unity with the Stalinists. This blocked their game and they took it out in increased resentment against us. Another section of the Socialist Party leadership, which was already orienting — perhaps without its full knowledge — towards reconciliation with Roosevelt, organized a real offensive against us; "Drive the Trotskyists out of the party." This campaign had a lot of pressure behind it — the Stalinists on the one side and the pressure of bourgeois influences on the other.

Most of those who led the fight against us later reconciled themselves with the bourgeois class. Jack Altman was one of them. Paul Porter became an agent of the War Labor Board. In that capacity he put through a dirty job of reducing the wages of the shipyard workers below what their contract had called for. He was one of the leaders of the Socialist Party who went to the length of writing a pamphlet demanding our expulsion from the party. People of this sort, who later became nothing but Roosevelt hirelings in the labor movement, were more favorably regarded by Norman Thomas and other top leaders than we were. They engineered a special convention of the party, which was not due under the constitution, for the special purpose of expelling the Trotskyists. They wanted to get rid of all this criticism from the Stalinists by removing the cause.

They wanted to do away with the revolutionary coloration which we were imparting to the Socialist Party; they wanted to reestablish it in the good will of bourgeois society. The Socialist Party had always had, except for a brief period during the first World War, a "good reputation." It was regarded as a group of people who are for Socialism but don't mean any harm. That kind of party is always tolerated, but never gains any real serious influence. Throughout the labor movement the leaders and members of the SP were known as people who are for Socialism but who never make any trouble for labor fakers, racketeers or traitors. All they want is the privilege of speaking a few words for Socialism. Our joining the party had changed that. Speaking in name of the Socialist Party, we were carrying the fight to Stalinists, we were carrying the fight to the labor fakers and giving the Socialist Party a different complexion in the public mind than it had before. They determined to get rid of us.

Our strategy in regard to this convention which was held in March 1937 was to delay the issue. We weren't entitled to be delegates, so we could not make much of a floor fight. We felt that we hadn't yet had time enough to educate and win over the maximum number of Socialist workers and Socialist youth who were capable of becoming revolutionists. We needed about six months more time. Therefore our strategy was to delay the showdown at this convention.

In furtherance of that strategy, I was brought from San Francisco, where I was at that time editing **Labor Action,** to New York to assist in the negotiations. We brought Vincent Dunne from Minneapolis. He and I were appointed as a committee of two to discuss matters with the leaders of the "Militants" and with Norman Thomas himself to see if we couldn't find a way of delaying the showdown. We had numerous conferences, one of them in Norman Thomas' house. Comrade Dunne and I, representing the Trotskyists, confronted Thomas and Tyler and Jack Altman and Murry Bar and others of the gang of young incipient labor fakers in a meeting to discuss what was to be done, what were the grievances against the Trotskyists that necessitated such a harsh attitude toward us, and so forth. I remember one of the big complaints that impressed Thomas particularly was the report that the Trotskyists, especially in New York, were talking too much at branch meetings; that they insisted on starting theoretical and political discussions along about eleven o'clock at night and going on endlessly.

The Drive Toward Expelling The Trotskyists

He wanted to know if something couldn't be done to restrain the Trotskyist caucus, or the Trotskyist faction, as the case might be, to limit these discussions to a reasonable hour. This struck a responsive chord in my heart. I had an accumulated resentment against these two o'clock-in-the-morning debates. We made a broad, sweeping agreement that as far as our influence went, we would favor establishing a rule that branch meetings adjourn by eleven o'clock at night. We made a number of other sweeping concessions of this type. We wanted peace, and we offered quite a few things here and there about the question of positions, and in general we were so conciliatory and inoffensive that we finally got an agreement. Norman Thomas solemnly agreed with us there that no proposals should be made at the convention to suppress internal organs — the **Socialist Appeal** in particular — or to expel anybody for his opinions. That was an agreement made with us by Norman Thomas in the presence of the young "Militants" whom I have mentioned.

Norman Thomas made the agreement, but he didn't keep it When he got to the convention at Chicago, after we had discussed with him, other pressures were put upon him, especially the pressure from Milwaukee, the seat of Social Democratic conservatism which was destined to become social-chauvinism in the second World War. The pressure of those self-satisfied, bourgeois-minded Social Democrats from Milwaukee, and from those fledgling labor fakers in New York like Murry Baron was stronger than Norman Thomas' word of honor. He broke his word, double-crossed us. He rose up in the convention, and he himself made the motion to prohibit all internal organs in the party. To prohibit all of them merely meant to prohibit the "Socialist Appeal;" there were no others of any consequence or respect in the organization.

(To Be Continued)

Negro Mother, 2 Children Burned To Death Following Threats Of Vigilante Violence

(Continued from Page 1)

support for a campaign against racial terrorism.

She cited the quick decision of the FBI, not to intervene, as further evidence of the importance of a reliable committee of inquiry consisting of representatives of workers' organizations, unions, and minority groups. The unwilling FBI had been appealed to by the Short family attorney.

Only such a committee,, with a real stake in combatting vigilante terror, can be counted on to cut through every attempt at whitewash, she said.

She pointed out that if a workers' defense guard had been organized to provide protection for the Short family as soon as they were threatened, no vigilante action could have been carried out.

CORONER'S INQUEST

The Stalinist **People's World** representative proposed instead a small NAACP committee appointed by Griffith to investigate the facts first.

This proposal was adopted, but the body agreed that broad support would have to be mobilized to fight vigilanteism effectively.

It was learned today that public pressure has already compelled the calling of a coroner's inquest for tomorrow although the coroner originally rejected the request of Mrs. Carrie Morrison, sister of the deceased, for an inquest.

According to Mrs. Morrison he rudely replied that he saw no reason to hold an inquest, and that in his opinion "the Negroes were just trying to stir up trouble."

Scene And Victims Of Fontana Tragedy

Here are the pitiful remains of what was once the Fontana, California, home of Mr. and Mrs. O. H. Short. When this Negro family moved into a "restricted" area a vigilante group warned them to move—"or else." Two weeks later, on December 16, the house mysteriously took fire and burned to the ground, killing three members of the family.

The Short children, Ann, 7 and Barry, 9, who lost their lives in the fire which reduced their home to ashes following vigilante threats. Their mother died with them in the flames. Mr. Short was seriously burned and is still in a hospital.

(Photographs by courtesy of Los Angeles Sentinel)

FRENCH WORKERS ACK MEETINGS OF TROTSKYISTS

Trotskyism is growing in popularity among workers in the Brittany region of France. **La Verite**, organ of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (Internationalist Communist Party), reports that 1,100 workers jammed a recent meeting at Quimper.

This is the town where the French Trotskyists recently alerted the workers to the danger of a local fascist demagogue and helped organize a counter-demonstration when he called a meeting. (**Militant** November 10).

On the day following the successful meeting at Quimper, the Trotskyists held another meeting at Concarneau. Some 1,200 workers attended.

CIO Rubber Workers Convention Marked By Fight For Leadership

(Continued from Page 1)

plan to take over complete control of the International, were forced to support Buckmaster in exchange for some posts on the General Executive Board. While this gives them a powerful bloc controlling about half the Board, they are nevertheless confronted with the fact that the large locals representing the heart of the union are hostile to the leadership in which they were given no adequate representation.

STALINISTS DESPERATE

The weakness of the Stalinist position was revealed by their desperate attempts to bludgeon, beg and wheedle a dues increase out of the convention. Vice-President H. R. Lloyd whined, "We cannot go on without a dues increase. We will have to fire 20 organizers." But the Akron locals which are the financial mainstay of the union refused to budge. "We are not going to vote for a dues increase to keep a bunch of Communist Party hatchetmen on the payroll," one Akron union president stated privately.

It is also indicative of the real relationship of forces that the corporation-wide policy committees set up to map the strategy in the coming strike struggles for the wage and hour program are dominated by anti-Stalinist officers of the large locals.

The extent to which the question of leadership dominated the convention is revealed in the fact that only one other problem facing the delegates received prolonged attention. About a hundred propositions embodied in resolutions and proposed changes in the constitution were voted upon with virtually no debate. Only the dues question, which came up on the floor on three different occasions, produced a sharp division and extended discussion.

COMING STRUGGLE

It was obvious from the beginning that the problem uppermost in the minds of the delegates was the question of the coming struggle with the profit-bloated corporations. In speech after speech the delegates expressed themselves in favor of taking whatever measures prove to be necessary to win the seven-point wage and hour program. Always in evidence was the pressure of the delegates representing workers back home who have taken huge cuts in take-home pay.

The proposal to increase monthly dues from $1 to $2 showed the relationship of forces in the convention. After some debate, a motion to refer the question to a referendum vote of the membership lost. When it became clear that an increase of a dollar could not carry, the question was referred back to committee. The committee did not report it out again until the afternoon of the last day of the convention. This time their recommendation was for an increase of 50 cents. After a prolonged debate the question came to a vote.

Those opposing an increase moved for a roll-call vote. This proposal was bitterly opposed by the Stalinists and their allies who were afraid to be recorded on how they stood on the question. The opponents of the increase finally forced a roll-call vote on the question of whether or not to have a secret ballot. The result was 737 in favor of a secret ballot and 516 against. On the recommendation of the committee for the 50-cent increase, the vote was 703 in favor and 580 against. Failing to get two thirds, the proposal lost.

PROPOSAL DEFEATED

In the last hour of the convention, after a good number of delegates had gone home, the Stalinists moved to reconsider the question. This maneuver, typical of Stalinist tactics of putting over unpopular propositions at late hours of the night, was fiercely opposed by many delegates. After another debate, Vice-President Lloyd got up and admitted that he thought the proposal still could not get the necessary two-thirds. The convention then voted not to reconsider the question.

By trying to bring this proposal up on the floor after many delegates had left town and after it had been adequately discussed and defeated previously, the Stalinists further exposed their callous disregard for democratic rights when they feel their machine can steam-roller measures through conventions.

Another indication of the preoccupation of the delegates with the question of leadership almost to the exclusion of other matters was the fact that the convention failed to pass any kind of resolution dealing with political action. One resolution favoring the establishing of a department in the International to direct political action was sent back to committee for strengthening. In the short discussion that took place prior to this action all proposals from the floor for increased political action were greeted with applause.

Delegate Benson of Local 101 spoke in favor of a Labor Party and was well received. George Bass, President of Akron-Goodrich Local 5, warned that unless labor takes a greater interest in political action, "we probably will not be holding a convention like this next year." It was obvious that the delegates favored increased political action and that they were ready to vote for a strong resolution to this effect.

However, the committee did not report the resolution out again until the closing hours of the convention. Their proposal took the form of appointing an individual to assist the National CIO, the URWA and the local unions in taking increased political action. This proposition was so weak, fell so far short of hitting the mark and came at such a late hour that the convention turned it down. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude from this that the rubber workers are not aware of the necessity for independent labor political action. Privately, many delegates expressed a warm sympathy for the idea of forming a Labor Party on a national scale and undoubtedly every delegate was in favor of increased efforts on Labor's part in politics in some way or other.

SUPPORT GM STRIKE

The convention expressed its firm solidarity with the General Motors strikers on the very first day. The delegates adopted motions expressing their full support of the strike and in favor of mobilizing the full membership of the URWA in back of the CIO United Auto Workers. They also voted unanimously to have their local unions collect financial aid for the strikers. The convention invited Walter Reuther to address the delegates but he was sick and could not appear. The delegates understood the crucial nature of the General Motors strike and its importance to the future of the labor movement in this country.

The convention passed resolutions opposing all anti-labor legislation now pending in Congress and any restrictions on the traditional right to strike. A resolution favoring support of the so-called Full Employment Bill was rejected when it was pointed out that the measure was completely meaningless and would not provide a single job for any worker.

LEADERSHIP BLOC

The final result of the convention insofar as it concerns the primary question of leadership was to place the union in control of a combination of conservatives and Stalinists. The outstanding contradiction in the International's leadership is that the militant representatives of the powerful Akron locals which represent about a third of the union have no positions on the General Executive Board. This condition reveals both the grasping ambitions of the Stalinists and the short-sightedness of the group which supports Buckmaster.

The fact that the Akron leaders will have no share of leading the union in the critical days ahead cannot produce the greatest amount of unity and harmonious relations in the union. However, the Akron militants are determined to build the strength of unionism in their own locals which will face the greatest attacks of the corporations despite the fact that they were denied the opportunity to share in the leadership of the International.

LESSONS LEARNED

The militants in the convention learned many useful lessons there for the future. Foremost among these is the necessity for strengthening their bases of support in their own locals. Second, there is the need for organizing the progressive forces in the union against the Stalinist fakers who have their own interests which are opposed to the best interests of the union. The question of leadership has not been finally decided. It remains divided between the large Akron locals which comprise a big section of the membership and the executive Board.

The official leaders of the union cannot ignore the desires of the Akron membership. They will have to work with the Akron locals, if the coming struggles with the rubber companies are to result in a victory for the union.

Socialist Workers Party Branch Activities

AKRON — Visit **The Militant** Club, 405-6 Everett Bldg., 39 East Market St., open Tues. and Thurs. 2 to 4 p.m.; Mon., Wed., Fri. 7 to 9 p.m.

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ALLENTOWN - BETHLEHEM — Public discussion meeting on current topics every Thursday, 8 p.m., at Militant Labor Forum, S. E. corner Front and Hamilton Streets, Allentown.

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BOSTON—Office at 30 Stuart St. Open Mondays and Saturdays from noon until 5 p.m., Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Fridays from 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

• • •

BUFFALO — Every Saturday night, Current Events Discussion and Open House, at Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor.

• • •

CHICAGO — Visit the Chicago SWP headquarters, 160 N. Wells, R. 317. Open 11 a.m. to 8 p.m. every day except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 7562.

• • •

CLEVELAND — Militant Forum every Sunday, 8:30 p.m. at Peck's Hall 1446 E. 82nd St.

• • •

DETROIT — SWP Open House every Saturday at 6108 Linwood. Forums on topical questions every Sunday, 8 p.m.

• • •

KANSAS CITY — SWP Branch meets Saturday, 8 p.m. Rm. 203, Studio Bldg., 418 E. 9th St., for study and discussion.

• • •

LOS ANGELES — Visit SWP headquarters, 145 S. Broadway, Room 203, Los Angeles 12; or San Pedro, 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.

Lecture Series On Current Strike Wave: "Wages," John Patrick; "Profits," Al Miller; "Prices," Gordon Bailey; "Jobs," Myra Tanner Weiss. Schedule:

Central, 106 Venice Blvd., near Main: "Wages," Friday, Jan. 18; "Profits," Jan. 25; "Prices," Feb. 1; "Jobs," Feb. 8.

East Side, Folks Hall, 424 N. Soto: "Wages," Wednesday, Jan. 16; "Profits," Jan. 23; "Prices," Jan. 30; "Jobs," Feb. 6.

San Pedro, 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214: "Wages," Friday, Jan. 11; "Profits," Jan. 18; "Prices," Jan. 25; "Jobs," Feb. 1.

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MILWAUKEE — Visit the Milwaukee branch of the SWP at its headquarters, 424 E. Wells St., any evening from 7:30.

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MINNEAPOLIS—Visit the Labor Book Store, 10 South 4th St., open 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily.

Attend the Twin Cities Sunday Forum held every Sunday, 3.30 p.m.

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NEWARK — Open forum every Friday at the Progressive Workers' School, 423 Springfield Ave., at 8:30.

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NEW YORK—Registration open at 116 University Pl. for classes in Principles of Marxism, Public Speaking and Parliamentary Procedure.

Harlem Discussion Group meets every Sunday night 7:30 p.m. to discuss "Labor and Negro Struggles," at 103 West 110 St., Room 23. Office open Monday to Thurs., 1 to 4:30, also Fri. and Sun., 7:30 to 10 p.m.

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PHILADELPHIA — SWP Headquarters, 405 W. Girard Ave. Open forums every Friday 8 p.m. on current topics.

Socialist Youth Group meets on alternate Saturdays, 8 p.m.

PITTSBURGH—Militant Reading Room, Seely Bldg., 5905 Penn Ave., corner Penn. Ave. & Beatty St., E. Liberty. Open Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday 7 to 9, and Saturday 2-9 p.m. Circulating library. Class on Fundamentals of Marxism every Sunday evening.

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PORTLAND, Ore. — Visit the SWP headquarters, 134 S. W. Washington, 3rd Floor. Tel ATwater 3992. Open 1 to 4 p.m., daily except Sunday, and 6 to 8 p.m. on Tuesday and Friday.

• • •

SAN FRANCISCO — Visit the San Francisco School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., corner of Grant and Sutter, 4th floor; open from 12 noon to 3 p.m., Monday through Saturday, and 7 to 9 p.m. Monday through Friday.

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SEATTLE—Study groups every Friday, 7:45 p.m., at Seattle School of Social Science, 1919½ Second Ave.; 1. Imperialism; 2. Introduction to Socialism.

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ST. LOUIS—Visit our headquarters, 1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312, open Monday through Saturday from 12 to 2 p.m.; Monday, Wednesday, Friday from 8 to 10 p.m.

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TOLEDO—Forums every Tuesday. 8:45 p.m., Roi Davis Bldg., Room 304, 905 Jefferson Ave. Open evenings, 7-9. Thursday Classes: Fundamentals of Marxism, 7:30 p.m. History of 3rd International, 8:50 p.m.

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YOUNGSTOWN — Youngstown School of Social Science, 225 N. Phelps St., open to public Tuesday and Saturday afternoon from 2 to 5; also 7:30 to 9:30 p.m., Monday through Thursday.

Wall Street Pushes Drive In Far East

(Continued from Page 1)

imposed 300 years ago. And Washington is prepared to give whatever aid necessary for the Dutch imperialists to resume that domination.

Washington is equally involved in support of the venal and ruthless Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship in China. This, in spite of the fact that during the war with Japan, Chiang held his biggest and best armies out of combat with the Japanese imperialists. "The troops were kept back for one reason," states a soldier-correspondent of **Yank**, Clyde Stoumen, in the December 23 **PM**, "to hold the Communists (Stalinists) and their land reforms in check" and to fight them after the war with Japan.

Chinese will tell you, he continues, "of vast areas of discontent among the Chinese people; of the progressive impoverishment of the poor and the unchallenged, untaxed freebootery of those who owned or manipulated land, U. S. currency, American fountain pens, rice or other consumer goods; of too-outspoken friends who had 'disappeared' off the streets of Chungking or Chengtu."

DRAFT BY FORCE

The Chiang Kai-shek government, which Washington supports, "formed its armies by sending armed 'draft boards' into the countryside to accost farmers working in the fields, handcuff them together with ropes and march them, bound and at gun point, through city streets to the nearest military post," declares Stoumen.

The well-to-do and the business people, on the other hand, he says, "were either draft exempt by law or could purchase such exemption."

The United States cooperates with Chiang Kai-shek even to censoring dispatches from China. Every dispatch must be stamped by both a Chinese as well as a U. S. Army censor before it can be filed.

This censorship even extends to American soldiers' mail. Stoumen declares that "many a GI was called on a carpet by his postal or intelligence officer for including in his letters factual observations on the morass of graft, inefficiency and intrigue" in the Chinese Government and army.

In support of this brutally dictatorial regime the American Seventh Fleet transported Chiang Kai-shek's forces from Haiphong, Indo-China to Hulutao, Manchuria. "Six American Liberty ships and an undisclosed number of tank landing ships," according to Vice Admiral Daniel Barbey, will be transferred to Chiang Kai-shek as soon as they complete "unloading Chinese Government troops at Hulutao."

Chinese crews to man the tank landing craft are being trained at Tsingtao by American sailors.

U. S. "RESPONSIBILITIES"

Lt. Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer, commander of American troops in China, told American troops there shortly after a conference with General Marshall that "new responsibilities given U. S. troops" had caused a change in plans to leave China. "I have had to cancel two ships this month as a result of changes in our evacuation plans," he stated. He declared it would be impossible to assure withdrawal of troops by early spring as had previously been announced. The changed policy, he asserted, was due to President Truman's statement of policy on December 15.

Although American troops are retained in China under the pretense of disarming Japanese soldiers, in reality they are protecting Chiang Kai-shek's supply routes and securing the bases from which his forces operate against Chinese Stalinist forces in North China.

In addition American transport planes continue to carry Kuomintang troops to "undesignated" points in north China. American equipment is still flowing in a steady stream to dictator Chiang Kai-shek.

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

"Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded."
—KARL MARX

by CHARLES JACKSON

Roundabout Roundup

After being pressured into a very bad spot when it became public that 123 homeward-bound Negro troops were denied passage on the aircraft carrier Croatan, Secretary of the Navy Forrestal announces the following order:

"In their attitude and day to day conduct of affairs Naval officers and enlisted men shall adhere rigidly and impartially to Naval regulations (?) in which no distinction is made between individuals wearing the Naval uniform or the uniform of any of the Armed Services of the United States because of race or color."

The slightly overdue discovery of such "regulations" will indeed be news to the hundreds of thousands of Negro sailors who were relegated throughout the war to the dirtiest, most dangerous and most servile assignments under most rigid conditions of enforced segregation. It will be news to the many qualified Negro and Jewish college graduates, pharmacists, dentists and doctors who were forced to serve as menial laborers and were denied commissions reserved for white gentiles. The existence of such a liberal Navy policy should also be quite informative to the 50 Negro sailors of Port Chicago who protested the all-Negro assignment to the ammunition depots where 300 of their comrades were blown to bits. The honorable Secretary Forrestal can contact these boys in the various federal penitentiaries where they are serving 8 to 15 year stretches for "mutiny."

• • •

"The struggle of the Indonesians, the Indians and the peoples of the colonial countries for independence is directly related to the fight of the American Negro for complete democracy in the United States." So said Gloster Current, executive secretary of the Detroit National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Bravo! Brother Current. Truer words were never spoken. Now when will you and the rest of the leadership of this powerful organization begin really turning your weight against the real enemy of Negro equality and of colonial liberation—American monopoly capitalism with its expanding imperialist trend?

One practical part of that program would be the launching of a campaign now by the NAACP for the formation of an Independent Labor Party, to show that the Negroes are ready to break with the old-line capitalist parties, the stooges of Big Business and the benefactors of both Jim Crowism and continued colonial slavery.

• • •

The Washington branch of the Stalinist - controlled National Negro Congress recently picketed the White House demanding the ouster of Secretary of State Byrnes and the retention of the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC)). During the recent "peoples' war" when tens of millions of the world's workers paid with their lives for the fourfold enrichment of Wall Street corporations and for the continued enslavement of two-thirds of the earth's population in the colonial countries, these local stooges of Stalin were spending their time dissuading Negroes from making any militant move against Army Jim Crow as "subject to embarrass Roosevelt"—who, in truth, appointed Truman who appointed Byrnes.

Not content with giving up the struggle against discrimination, the Stalinists also had to utilize their talents in manufacturing a bedtime story of how the "little Hitlers" over here would all melt away as soon as we got enough "unity" with the American ruling class to go across the pond and make "big Hitler" bite the dust. Of course, people like A. Philip Randolph who wanted to march on Washington to demand fair employment practices, and an end to government Jim Crow at that time were condemned as "under the influence of those lowest of snakes—The Trotskyite fifth columnists." Such is the degeneracy of the Stalinist betrayers who openly stand for such barefaced hypocrisy on so fundamental an issue as the struggle for minority rights.

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George Schuyler, columnist for the **Pittsburgh Courier**, takes the cake for literary sleight-of-hand. He castigates with equal fury monopoly capitalism and its opposite — Socialism. Given a wealth of ammunition by the flip-flop tactics of the Followers of Stalin who fraudulently call themselves "communists," Schuyler has developed lately into one of the most vicious red-baiters in the country, black or white.

He recently stated that none of the "political" groups was objecting to the slaughter of Indonesians. Evidently someone informed him of the present and past activity of the Socialist Workers Party in fighting against the imperialist subjugation of the colored colonials for he made this slurred and contradictory correction the following week: No political groups were fighting for immediate freedom of the colonial people—except those who had a motive of—"political partisanship."

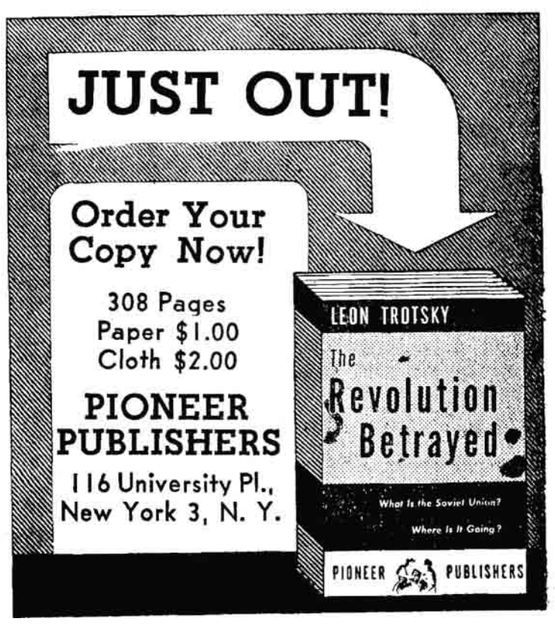
The Negro left-wingers, says Schuyler, in the December 22 issue, ". . . . have no real program for their people and never had." Although this super-cynic does not counterpose his program for the elimination of racial discrimination, he should at least review some of his own statements of the past before jumping to such erroneous conclusions.

In frequent columns and on almost every lecture platform Schuyler will point out that neither the Democrats nor the Republicans can bring freedom for the Negro because they are only stooges of Big Business which invariably stands to profit from dividing the working people.

Now after this analysis, how Brother Schuyler can say with a straight face that the Marxists "have no program" when they are continuously calling for a Workers' Government with the construction of a Socialist Society where it would be impossible for any class to profit from exploitation or racial persecution—how he can contradict his own logic, then, in such a way—I am sure can easily be explained by that Houdini of the written word, Mr. Schuyler.

No Business As Usual

"BATAVIA, Java, Nov. 13 (AP)—The Indonesian crisis will make it impossible for the Dutch Government to estimate production figures or give other information at the forthcoming international rubber conference in London, P. Honing, Dutch Government rubber official asserted."



Diary Of A Steelworker *By T. Kovalesky*

We Will All Pull Together

Every day in the steel plant you see something or other that catches your imagination, and you think you'll remember it, but somehow or other it usually seems to slip away. Sometimes it's part of a conversation you hear, sometimes a particularly dangerous or unpleasant job, or sometimes it's just a picture, a silhouette of the stacks in the sunset, but it carries with it an idea. Most of these things, as I say, slip away from you, but some do remain.

For instance, there is in my mind a picture of an old furnace keeper. You see him going about his work bent over, as though the heat of many years on the job had warped his body like a piece of metal. His every move is well-learned and methodical. He does the job so well now, that it doesn't look very hard. But still, you know it is. I wonder how much longer he'll be able to last, and if he'll die while still on the payroll or just be thrown out into the streets when there is no more work left in his worn-out body.

Then there is another portrait, the kid who lost an arm in the mill. They gave him a fairly easy job (there are some fairly easy jobs in the steel plants), and they say that he doesn't need to worry about being laid off. I heard one fellow say, "I don't know, I think I'd trade an arm for job security." No arm, but — what the hell! — he's sure of his job . . . or at least he thinks he is.

And then I remember one day in the labor gang, when there were quite a few of us working monotonously near a railroad track. One man was going back and forth with a wheelbarrow. Each time he passed us, a middle-aged man at my side would howl some stupid insult at him in fun. Finally after one such banal jibe, he turned to me and said with an almost pathetic expression on his face, "You gotta say something!" and he went on yelling his foolish jokes trying to shorten the day by saying "something."

But I guess the thing that touched me most was something that one of the colored fellows I work with said to me one day. I had gotten to work a little late, and when I arrived I found him doing some of my work. I thanked him and said, "Look, Jimmy, you didn't have to do that. You could have finished up your work and then taken it easy."

He smiled a little and said, "Well, I'll tell you. You're not like a lot of people. You believe everybody else is a human being like yourself."

I wanted to say that I had been trained to be that way, to understand that there were lots of other workers who felt the same way, and there were hundreds of thousands of others who had never learned, who didn't know that we are all human beings, none of us inferior, none of us superior as a race, but who can and will learn that most of the boys pull together in a crisis like a strike, and that the day will come when all peoples, yellow, brown, black and white will live together in brotherhood . . . but how in hell can you talk when a lump suddenly jumps right into the middle of your throat? All you can do is grin and give the fellow a light punch on the arm and get busy doing something or other. And that's what I did.

Notes Of A Seaman *By Art Sharon*

I met a young sailor the other day who belongs to the CIO National Martime Union. He had been sailing steady all during the war. He was a member of the Communist (Stalinist) Political Association and the line then was to "keep 'em sailing."

He was caught on a shuttle run in the South Pacific which kept him out there nearly one year. His great joy at getting back last month has turned by this time into bewilderment. He finds he no longer belongs to the Communist Political Association because that has dissolved.

It seems there was some kind of letter from a guy named Duclos in France that said Earl Browder was phony and that the Communist Party should never have dissolved to form the Communist Political Association. And furthermore that the "Communists" had committed a great crime by shaking hands with Wall Street, and that means the shipowners, too.

To top it off, some of the leaders (Stalinists and ex-Stalinists) of his own union are charging the other leaders (Stalinists) with selling out the NMU to the shipowners during the war. But the guys who are doing the charging never said anything when all this was going on.

When our young sailor friend went over to the Communist Party headquarters they asked him to re-register so that he could take his place in the "new" Communist Party. But he decided to wait a while and see how all this would stack up. He couldn't get much satisfaction out of the CP organizer who told him everything was on the right road now and invited him to attend a meeting where it would all be explained.

He went to the meeting, figuring that there, with the State Secretary of the party speaking, he would get the real low-down. The speaker raved around a while about Browder and how bad the ex-CP boss was. He then turned the heat on Truman charging him with "not carrying out the line of FDR."

The State Secretary finished up his speech by exhorting those in the audiences who had not re-registered, to do so now. The speech left the young seaman cold and he left the meeting feeling very much dissatisfied.

Since that meeting he has tried to read a few of the pamphlets he purchased at the CP's bookshop, but as he put it to me, he can't help feeling that maybe what these pamphlets say will all be denounced a few months from now as false. I admitted that this possibility could not be discounted.

After he finished his woeful tale I asked him what he was going to do now. He didn't know but he though maybe it would be best for him to get on a ship, make some money, have a good time and forget the Communist Party and the "whole business."

"You might be able to forget the Communist Party, but do you think you could ever escape from the class struggle," I asked him. He admitted that no spot on earth was free from the class struggle. Even aboard ship he would be confronted the day after he sailed with the very issues he would like to get away from. Discussion aboard ship never stops; and with every variety of political opinion expressed, he would, willy nilly, have to take a position.

I offered him a copy of **The Militant** and asked him to read it and see what the Trotskyists have to say. He hesitated for a split second then reached over and took it. "What the hell," he explained, "even Joe Curran once said at a meeting that **The Militant** was no good but every seaman should read it." With an embarrassed look he put it into his pocket, said goodbye and went his way, assuring me he would return to resume our discussion.

Wall Street's Gestapo *By Jules Kramer*

The United States government is now planning the greatest international spy system the world has ever seen. This proposed spy system is aimed at the labor movement in this country as much as it is against labor abroad. Gen. Marshall, who wrote Truman's war-mongering Navy day address, advocated this shocking plan on October 18. He told the Senate Military Affairs Committee that this country must organize a world-wide espionage system to continue the wartime secret-service work of the Office of Strategic Services.

The Navy's Eberstadt report made it even clearer: "With the developments, present and prospective, in the field of new weapons, intelligence has become a matter of vital national interest. We should know as much as possible about the intent as well as the military capabilities of every country in the world."

Thus, five years of the most terrible warfare has only resulted in distrust, fear, and preparations for a new war. The inevitability of an eventual war with the Soviet Union is taken for granted by these imperialist spokesmen. Many Americans believed the propaganda about the unity, trust, and good-will of the "peace-loving" nations. To these people, Senator Wiley's speech on the floor of Congress supporting an American Gestapo should prove a real eye-opener.

"We all want the United Nations Organizations to succeed," he said, "but at this stage it is particularly foolhardy to rely on it . . . for our own security. We must have an international intelligence service with ample funds for such specified and unspecified purposes as it may deem fit."

As head of this spy system he proposed J. Edgar Hoover, present chief of the FBI. Wiley then stated: "On the domestic front, the intelligence role of the FBI must be expanded."

Here we have a clue to those "specified and unspecified" purposes that Senator Wiley is talking about. J. Edgar Hoover's talents and specialties are not in the diplomatic field at all. He is the organizer of the American equivalent of the Gestapo. His job is to watch all radical and working-class groups, to plant agents in their ranks, to keep tabs on all anti-government expressions of opinion.

What Gen. Marshall and Senator Wiley propose is an extension of these activities to every country in the world.

With great rebellions of starving masses foreshadowed in Europe and Asia, the American capitalist class feels the need for an international Gestapo of the type that Hitler devised. The State Department has already taken steps in this direction. The November 10 **Business Week** states that "for several months the State Department has been building up a chain of labor-reporting outposts in strategic cities of Latin America and Europe. The idea is to place trained observers where any undercurrent in labor thought can be spotted and interpreted swiftly to Washington, in terms of what American business should know and expect."

This proposed Gestapo system is not only a threat against workers in other countries. It is also directed squarely against the American workers. Senator Wiley's demand for an expanded FBI is simply the first step in constructing this world-wide anti-labor spy system.

It is a terrible fact that the world working-class must now expect from American imperialism the same terroristic Gestapo methods that Hitler meted out to the working class of Europe.

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Regional Leaders Force Weak Compromise In Fafnir Strike To Aid Ford "Strategy"

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT

NEW BRITAIN, Conn., Dec. 20.—The longest and largest strike in this city's history ended today when some 2,500 members of CIO United Automobile Workers Local 133 returned to work at the Fafnir Bearing Company plant here after a weak compromise proposal was forced on them by the regional UAW officials.

These officials prevailed on the militant workers, entering the tenth week of their walkout, to accept a company offer of a five per cent wage increase in place of the union's demand for 17 cents an hour more. The regional officials also presented the workers with some vague company promises for the future.

Throughout the course of the strike, the UAW international representatives and regional officials failed to give the workers any real material support. It is believed by experienced unionists here that the UAW representatives wanted to end the strike on almost any terms because Fafnir supplies the Ford Motor Company and the strike might have interfered with the top UAW leaders' "one-at-a-time strategy" of keeping Ford in operation during the GM strike.

UE LEADERS SHIRK

Failure of the CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers leaders here to come forth with aid promised at the start of the strike, although the UE members were anxious to give real support, resulted in vital help being withheld from the strikers. It is reported that the UE leaders were only "making the record" with their pledge of support, while actually opposed to the strike.

The Fafnir workers fought bitterly against an alignment of the local police force, the city officials led by Mayor Quigly, the daily newspapers and the company. These kept up a vicious barrage against the strike.

Last week, the company opened the gates "for those who wanted to return to work." The union appealed to the foremen not to go into the plant to prepare it for reopening. Some 35 police were mobilized at one gate where there was only a token line of six pickets. The cops smashed the line, brutally clubbing a World War II veteran.

The company was able to make capital out of the agreement made with the regional UAW officers and was able to dupe several hundred of the more backward workers into crossing the picket lines before the strike was ended.

The regional officials put the heat on the striking workers at a Local 133 mass meeting. They argued that the strikers should accept the company's insulting counter-proposal. The militant local shop committee members opposed calling off the strike on these terms.

However, since it was apparent that the top UAW leaders would not aid this isolated strike against a powerful company, the local union leaders were finally forced to recommend that the strike be ended and all go back to work together rather than have the strike dwindle away and the union smashed.

The workers returuned unitedly in a body today, all conspicuously wearing their union buttons.

Question Hogan On Silence In Tresca Murder

NEW YORK, Dec. 20—District Attorney Hogan was asked today if he had "any plans" for continuing the investigation into the three-year-old murder of Carlo Tresca. The question was put to Hogan by Norman Thomas, chairman of the Tresca Memorial Committee, after the resignation of Assistant District Attorney Eleazer Lipsky. Assigned to the case in October, 1944, Lipsky later was given other work, and a fog of official silence again settled over the Tresca investigation.

Carlo Tresca, militant anti-fascist editor of **Il Martello** (The Hammer), was shot down in a dimout at Fifth Ave. and 15th St., on January 11, 1943.

Preparations are continuing for a New York meeting in memory of Tresca, to be held in Cooper Union Institute, Fourth Ave. and 8th St., on Thursday, January 10, at 5:15 p.m. Arrangements are also proceeding for similar memorial meetings in Chicago, San Francisco, Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Paterson, N. J.; Lawrence, Mass.; Utica, N. Y., and other cities where Carlo Tresca had been in the forefront of historic labor struggles, and in Mexico City and Havana.

This UAW Family Knows The Cost Of Living

GM striker John J. McIntosh and six good reasons why he is on strike for a living wage—his wife and five children. McIntosh, a paint sprayer at the Turnstedt Manufacturing Company in Detroit, averaged $48 a week before the strike and found that it didn't go far enough to adequately feed and shelter his family. As a member of Local 174 UAW-CIO, John takes a regular three hour tour of picket duty in front of Turnstedt. He is due on the line at 6 AM and rises at 5 AM to eat a hurried breakfast prepared by his wife. Mrs. McIntosh does her part on the home front by stretching their slender savings and caring for the five children. A sixth child is on its way. Seated at the dinner table, the McIntosh clan consists of (left to right) Donald, 9 (back to camera); Mr. McIntosh; Dick, 4; Harry, 2; Mrs. McIntosh; Tom, 6; and Mary Ann, 7.

Philadelphia SKF Workers End Their Heroic Three-Month Strike

By Max Geldman

(Special to The Militant)

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 19 — The bitter three-month strike of Local 2898, CIO United Steelworkers, against the union-busting SKF international bearing trust here, ended December 15 when the striking workers voted to accept a six-point peace proposal.

Under the agreement, the first group of workers returned to their jobs today, and the remainder will be back by Friday. The company agreed first not to discriminate against any workers because of strike activities, second to restore seniority rights as of the beginning of the strike.

The company also agreed to withdraw its $2,000,000 damage suit against the union, while the local agreed to drop unfair labor practice charges filed with the NLRB.

GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE

The settlement included stipulation that the normal grievance procedure on the two grievance cases which had a direct bearing on the strike would be resumed in a few days after the workers were back on the job. If the union and the company fail to agree, the disputes will be turned over to the American Arbitration Association.

In addition, the union and the company agreed to enter into negotiations for an interim agreement on the fourth day after production is resumed. This agreement will be in force until an NLRB election is held to determine the workers' bargaining agent.

Richard G. Davidson, district steel union director, at the strike settlement meeting last Saturday, recommended acceptance of the proposals to return to work. He said, "In as much as the high point of this strike concerns the company's refusal to meet with union representatives and bargain collectively, we consider this tentative agreement a victory in our fight to uphold the principles of trade unionism."

The vote to accept the settlement ended plans for a city-wide one day strike of CIO unions, which would have been called in protest against the granting of a court injunction prohibiting mass picketing at SKF plants.

Militant Local 2898 officials and members feel the strike settlement is the best that could have been obtained under the circumstances. They do not like the ambiguous settlement of the two grievances that precipitated the strike (the discharge of a union steward and transfer of a non-union worker out of seniority). Another bitter pill to swallow is the election to determine the bargaining agent. Local 2898 members know SKF will do everything to push its company union in the NLRB election.

ISSUES TOO BIG

As one old-timer expressed it, "The issues in this strike were too big for one local. The same issues are now up for decisive showdowns in the UAW fight against GM. On January 14, all steel may be involved. Other unions plan similar action. We began a fight that only the entire labor movement can finish."

"Don't get me wrong," this union veteran continued, "I'm not discouraged and neither are the rest of us who pounded the picket lines for the last three months. We are confident that the union is here to stay in SKF. We are sure to win the NLRB election and win some real demands for ourselves before the shooting is finished. We've learned some lessons out of this strike, and we've taught the company to respect the union. We're going back to catch our breath.

LOTS OF FIGHT LEFT

"SKF, GM, US Steel—they are all the same — they represent powerful money interests, but labor united, is stronger, and I'm looking forward to seeing the job done. Maybe, you will see us out again on January 14, with the rest of the steel workers. There is lots of fight left in our outfit. SKF will find that out if they try any more union-busting tactics on us again."

These sentiments reflect the general attitude of the SKF workers, after a struggle that has made labor history in this area. Some are critical of the International officials for sending them back to work without a clear cut victory. They feel that as long as they were receiving unemployment compensation, they might just as well have stuck it out, until after January 14, and joined then in the general strike against the steel corporations. But all agree, that the union has developed a solid core of fighting members during the strike which will give a good account of itself in the task of building a solid union in SKF.

The **Militant** and its agents won the high respect of the workers during the strike. Not only was the **Militant** the only paper to present the complete story of the strike from the workers point of view, but it also rendered material assistance to the union by securing the aid of unionist friends of **The Militant** in setting up the commissary and securing provisions for it all during the strike, obtaining financial assistance from many other unions and even procuring the series of professional entertainments that helped to liven up strike meetings and maintain morale.

Page Gen. Sherman

World War II cost the American people more than $300 billions. American corporations garnered $52 billions, more than one-sixth of the war costs, in clear profits after taxes. America's 60 Ruling Families made $11 billions more profit on World War II than the entire American cost of World War 1 ($41 billions).

Now the corporations protest they can't afford to give living wages to the workers.

Ford Union Group Flays Scheme To Fine Strikers

(Continued from Page 1)

in that the union asks the company to assess all fines for "unauthorized" work-stoppages directly upon the pay envelope of the worker instead of the union treasury.

In speaking of the resolution, Averill described the UAW Ford negotiators' proposal as a "stab in the back of the General Motor's workers now involved in a bitter struggle for a 30 per cent wage increase, the proof of my assertion being that the General Motors Corporation immediately cancelled its contract with the union after the infamous proposal of our representatives was announced in the press."

Amidst shouts of approval from workers packed in the auditorium, Averill stated: "I do not recall that during the imperialist war, throughout which the workers were shackled with a no-strike pledge at a time when Ford and the rest of America's Sixty Families were reaping millions of blood-soaked dollars from the sacrifices of the American working class on the battlefields and in the factories, that the Ford Motor Company demanded such assurances of company security from the workers as our bargaining committee is now offering.

TOO HIGH A PRICE

"This is much too high a price to pay for the retention of the check-off system or any possible wage increase. If we cannot come to terms with the company on a reasonable basis then we must reject this proposal and fight it out on the picket line."

The Stalinists, in line with their policy of protecting the top UAW bureaucracy from rank and file criticism, refrained from any hard-hitting vocal support to the resolution although voting in favor of it.

On the following day, Sunday, December 16, at a special meeting of the General Council of Local 600, held for the purpose of discussing the company security proposal, the Stalinists, fearful that their own followers who control the vote in the council might discredit themselves by making an outright rejection of the plan, hurriedly caucused their key people. At the opening of the meeting they introduced a weaselly resolution requesting that a vote on the proposal be held in abeyance until the latest wage offer from the Ford representatives, due sometime this week, is received. The majority of the Stalinist-controlled council passed the resolution.

HELPING LEONARD

Thus the Stalinists showed Richard T. Leonard, UAW National Ford Director, and the member of the International Union's Executive Board who was present to defend the Ford Negotiating Committee, that while they demagogically objected to Leonard's plan, they were actually running interference for him in his attempt to put it over.

Leonard took the floor and in a prolonged speech defended the company security proposal, for which he accepted full responsibility.

He stated that his plan had received the full approval of R. J. Thomas, UAW President, and Walter P. Reuther, UAW Vice-President and head of the union's General Motors Division.

He spoke at length on what he termed "union responsibility" in a manner which differed little from similar dissertations by company labor-relations men. His remarks were received coldly.

At the conclusion of Leonard's speech the floor was opened for discussion. The Stalinist speakers either straddled the issue or verbally tapped Leonard on the wrist. It remained for Percy Llewellyn, a member of the UAW International Executive Board and a former president of Local 600, to furnish the surprise of the evening by denouncing the company security plan in its entirety.

Llewellyn stated that his fellow board members knew his position on the question but that he did not feel that as a Ford worker he could remain silent concerning a proposition which, in his opinion, if put into operation would be a disastrous defeat for the Ford workers. He also stated that it would be a major disaster for labor generally, as henceforth all employers would ask for the same provision in their contracts. His remarks were heartily applauded.

Leonard, apparently regarding Llewellyn's statements as an act of disloyalty to the bureaucrats of the International Executive Board, took the floor and in a pained tone of voice chided Llewellyn for having voiced his opinions knowing that they were contrary to those of the Board as a whole. Leonard made it clear that Llewellyn had committed an act bordering on "high treason" by speaking to the workers as a worker instead of as a member of the UAW top bureaucracy.

"UNIONS FOR WORKERS!"

The only other progressive speech was that of Peter Vranich, a member of Local 600's plant-wide grievance committee. Vranich's remarks were similar to Llewellyn's. When Joseph McCusker, Local 600 President and chairman of the meeting, informed Vranich that unions in the past had levied penalties upon the workers for participating in strikes, Vranich shouted: "Listen, McCusker, I've always believed that the purpose of unions was to advance the working class. I'm interested in trying to advance the trade union movement—not to take it back 50 years!"

The meeting concluded after a motion was passed requesting that measures be taken to set up a National Strike Strategy Committee comprising all CIO unions.